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Le but de l'étude est d'identifier certains facteurs majeurs d'ordre social et culturel qui semblent différencier les étudiants qui poursuivent leur scolarité jusqu'à la fin du secondaire ou du collégial de ceux qui abandonnent leur études. Afin de rester dans des limites raisonnables, l'auteur s'en tient à l'analyse des cinq variables indépendantes suivantes: les aspirations de l'étudiant, le contexte familial, le contexte scolaire, les influences des pairs, la perception de soi/orientation vocationnelle. Il s'appuie pour ce faire sur certaines donnés de l'enquête ASOPE.

Une partie seulement des données recueillies dans le cadre du projet ASOPE a été retenue: d'une part, les données sur la situation des 5820 élèves de la cohorte I (secondaire I) en 1972 et en 1974; d'autre part, celles sur la situation des 10192 élèves de la cohorte III (secondaire V) en 1972, 1973 et 1974. Une analyse longitudinale des données propres à chaque cohorte est effectuée, de même qu'un examen des différences, à une même époque, entre chacune des deux cohortes.

Les techniques d'analyse appliquées révèlent que les cinq facteurs mis en ligne de compte sont non seulement des variables indépendantes majeures de l'orientation scolaire mais les facteurs principaux et, davantage encore, des facteurs discriminatoires et des signes avant-coureurs efficaces d'abandon ou de persévérance scolaire.

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LES CAHIERS D'A.S.O.P.E.

Volume XI

DROP-OUT OR STAY-IN?
THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS
AFFECTING THE OPTION

Herbert Horwich

A.S.O.P.E.

ASPIRATIONS SCOLAIRES et
ORIENTATIONS PROFESSIONNELLES DES ÉTUDIANTS

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VOLUME XI

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HERBERT HORWICH

JUIN 1980

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS AFFECTING EDUCATIONAL RETENTION AND ACQUISITIONS AT THE SECONDARY AND POST-SECONDARY LEVELS IN QUEBEC

par

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Foreword

In order to facilitate the reader's perusal of this research in an orderly and systematic fashion, we draw attention to the structure and organization of the study design, and recommend two alternative approaches.

Methodologically, our study consists of a three-phase statistical analysis utilizing X^2 (chi square) cross-tabulations in the initial stage, and factor analysis and discriminant analysis in the subsequent middle and final stages. Those wishing to avail themselves of a thorough and detailed rendition of this work are invited to read the document in its entirety, in the sequence presented.

For those conversant with the multivariate techniques of factor analysis and discriminant analysis, an abridged reading is suggested as an alternative, in the following sequence: Analytic Framework, Study Design, etc.; Statistical Profile, Factor Analysis, Discriminant Analysis; and Conclusion.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Since 1968, a distinctive feature of post-secondary education in Quebec has been the existence of a system of General and Vocational Colleges, commonly known as "Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel" (C.E.G.E.P.). This system of pre-university and vocational institutions was created by an act of the Quebec National Assembly in 1967, in response to the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, the renowned "Parent Report". The report, which served as the ideological and philosophical framework for the establishment of a new system of education, attributed to the C.E.G.E.P.'s the following aims:

> "to assure the greatest possible number of students who have the necessary aptitudes the opportunity to follow studies of longer duration and better quality; to cultivate an interest and a desire for education on the part of the students in order to lessen the number of failures and premature withdrawals; to further a wiser choice of studies, better fitted to students' tastes and aptitudes; to raise the level of pre-university studies and vocational instruction; to establish a uniform system for the transition between secondary and higher education and to give students a better preparation for embarking on the latter".
>
> (Vol. 2, 1964: 166)

In consonance with the recommendations of the Report, two distinct programmes are offered under the new system of education:

(1) A two-year course of general or pre-university studies in preparation for university admission into an undergraduate programme of a minimum duration of three years.

(2) A two or three-year course of vocational or professional training (in accordance with area of specialization) in preparation for an occupation.

The Nature and Extent of the Problem

The aims and objectives of the Parent Report notwithstanding, an examination of the record reveals a somewhat different image, especially in the area of student non-completions and premature termination of their education. Government of Quebec documents for the academic year 1971-72 (RELANCE 1973 TOME 2) and for the academic year 1972-73 (RELANCE 1974 TOME 2) reveal that close to one-quarter of all C.E.G.E.P. students had either permanently or temporarily withdrawn from school prematurely. The governmental statistics show that for the 1971-72 school year, 23.4% of Quebec collegial students were classified as "sortants inattendus (abandons)", while for the 1972-73 school year, 23.9% of collegial students in Quebec were thus categorized. Such a situation gives rise to serious concern, and we shall therefore focus our attention on this and related problems as the subject of the present research.

The sociologically relevant question, then, is one of what conditions of Quebec society in general, and social processes in particular, are responsible for considerable numbers of students, from certain sociological categories, not attaining higher levels of education than they are at the present time. More specifically, we shall endeavour to ascertain what are the conditions, social-structural and social-psychological, which "cause" students to either continue or discontinue their educational pursuits, i.e., why do some students more than others, aspire to higher levels of education, and how can this be explained?

Purpose of the Present Research

We have undertaken this study in order to investigate some of the salient social and cultural factors which seem to differentiate those who continue their education to the completion of C.E.G.E.P. and those who terminate or discontinue their education without the completion of their C.E.G.E.P. program. We shall endeavour in this research to ascertain what major social conditions and environmental factors are involved in retention in or withdrawal from the academic milieu. This particular area of inquiry has been chosen due to: (1) an increasing concern over the rather high incidence of non-completion and early withdrawals from C.E.G.E.P.; (2) the alleged direct relationship between school withdrawals and social disorganization (unemployment, unemployability, crime, delinquency, etc.); (3) the apparent need for more empirical and primary data with respect to C.E.G.E.P. retention and attritions; (4) the relative lack of empirical work on the influence of family, friends, the school context, social class, ethnicity, etc., upon one's academic aspirations and achievements at the higher levels of formal education.

Areas of Investigation

In order to remain within the confines of manageable empirical proportions, we shall limit our research to a consideration of the following major independent variables:

(1) Aspirations
(2) Family Status
(3) The School Context
(4) Peer Influences
(5) Self-Perception and Life-Orientation

Tentative Hypotheses:

Aspirations:

The higher the socioeconomic status of the family, the higher the level of education the parents desire for their children.

The higher the level of education the parents desire for their children, the more positive will be the child's evaluation of education.

The more negative the child's educational value, the lower his or her educational aspirations.

Family Status:

The family "educational pattern" of the non-student will be less conducive to educational retention than that of the student.

The larger the community of family residence, the more the likelihood of high educational intention.

There is an inverse relationship between family size and educational intentions. The smaller the family, the greater the tendency toward high educational intention.

The School Context:

The programme of studies in which the adolescent is enrolled will have far-reaching consequences for his or her future education. Those enrolled in academic programmes will have higher aspirations than those enrolled in non-academic programmes.

The academic performance of the non-student will be considerably below that of the student.

The non-student's participation in extra-curricular activities will be considerably less than that of the student.

Peer Influences:

The non-student, much more than the student, will tend to experience peer associations that define scholastic pursuit as unfavourable.

The non-student will tend to have close friends who are not academically-oriented or whose level of educational aspiration is low.

The non-student will tend to have brothers or sisters who are not academically-oriented or whose level of educational aspiration is low.

Self-Perception and Life-Orientation:

The self-image of the non-student, as well as his role-expectations and educational/occupational orientation, will differ from that of the student.

The more positive an adolescent's evaluation of the future, the more likely he is to desire and anticipate the achievement of a high level of education.

The non-student, to a far greater extent than the student, will manifest a sense of self-dissatisfaction, will lack self-confidence and self-esteem, and a sense of personal efficacy.

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Introduction

The concept of "aspirations" in sociological literature is not a new one. Contemporary interest in "aspirations", however, has arisen from two different, but somewhat related sources: (1) studies of the American system of social stratification, and of particular status systems in individual American communities, and (2) research into the efficiency of the American system of education, in terms of why certain individuals were receiving more education than others, etc.

The literature on social stratification deals with the concept of "aspiration" in a variety of contexts. Of particular interest here are three contexts which include much of the research done on "aspirations" and related topics, and which serve as the conceptual framework for this aspect of our investigation:

1. The stratification system and values.
2. The stratification system, mobility and occupational aspirations.
3. The stratification system and educational aspirations.

While the present research is primarily concerned with the relationship between the system of stratification and educational aspirations, we shall also consider the other two dimensions stated.

The Conceptual Framework

Among the early studies with a distinctively sociological orientation was Kahl's (1953) "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys". Conducted in conjunction with the Harvard "Mobility Study", Kahl's work had the aim of "exploring the social influences which help to account for differences in motivation --

more specifically, the motivation to go on to college -- among high school boys of similar background and intelligence level." (1953:186) Kahl found that the strongest factor in determining a boy's aspirations for a college education was parental pressure. Even though their family origins were similar, some of the boys' parents were content with their way of life, while others were not. Those parents who were not satisfied with their own status tended to inculcate in their child, from the earliest years, the value of education as a means of upward mobility. As a result, those boys who internalized such values were the ones who desired a college education. Kahl notes in this regard that:

> "...the boys learned to an extraordinary degree to view the occupational system from their parents' perspective. They took over their parents' view of the opportunities available, the desirability and possibility of change of status, the techniques of change to be used if change was desired, and the appropriate goals for boys who performed as they did in school".
>
> (1953: 202)

Of relevance to the Canadian context, and supportive of Kahl's findings, was a study by Fleming (1957) conducted among nearly 10,000 Grade 13 students in Ontario. A high positive relationship was found between parental attitudes vis-a-vis university education and the students' intentions to attend college. The study furthermore revealed that parental attitudes were related to whether the student did, in fact, actually go to college.

Our own research (1970) in Halifax also indicated that students' educational aspirations were directly influenced by parental values and attitudes concerning education. These values and attitudes are transmitted through the socialization process, and seemingly determine the direction of parental pressures -- either in favour of or in opposition to continued education for their son or daughter.

The basis of parental aspirations for their children appears to be their own values and attitudes vis-a-vis education. They are, in a sense, necessary conditions for parental pressure on the child to continue education. It has further been demonstrated that parental aspirations are, in turn, correlates of social class position. Hollingshead (1949) clearly demonstrated this relationship in his Elmtown's Youth study. He identified five social classes in the community, and characterized the children of each class and their parents' expectations. For example, in his discussion of boys and girls in Class I and Class II, he states:

> "...educational motivation is derived from the student's experiences in his class and family culture. The Class I and II boys and girls know that high grades are necessary if they are to achieve the educational goal set for them by their family and class... for most, high school is merely a preparatory step for college".
>
> (1949: 175-178)

Conversely, at the lower levels of the social class hierarchy (Classes IV and V), education is valued less by both parents and students.

Hyman (1953) furnished additional evidence of the degree to which education is differentially valued in terms of social class membership, and concludes from his analysis of nationwide NORC survey data that clearly: "...whatever measure of stratification is employed the lower groups emphasize college training less". (1953: 430)

Bordua (1960) investigated the relationship between such variables as sex, socio-economic status, religious affiliation, and college aspirations among Grade 9 to 12 students in Massachusetts. He found both sex and SES (as measured by father's occupation) to be positively related to college plans. Greater proportions of boys from families of high SES intended to go to college than boys in the lower socio-economic statuses. Males exceeded females in intentions to attend college, and even when the relationship between sex and college plans was examined, independent of class, the difference was not diminished, although at the upper levels of SES, there was a tendency for the differences to be reduced. Bordua concludes that "...these variables are related to college plans and independently related". (1960: 266)

Bordua next examined the original relationships between sex and SES to college plans, while controlling the factor of parental stress, in an endeavour to determine the degree to which these relationships were due to "differential stress on college by parents of boys as opposed to girls, high occupational levels as opposed to low..." (1960: 266) He concluded that the original sex differences in college aspirations was substantially reduced with the control of parental stress.

Other important studies which lend further credence to the importance of parental stress as a determinant of educational aspirations are those conducted by Bell (1963), Simpson (1962) and Berdie (1954). Bell and Simpson, in their respective researches, both concluded that parental stress, rather than family class position, was the better predictor of educational aspirations. Berdie's data also revealed statistically significant sex differences among those who planned to go to college, in the ratio of males over females. Conversely, females exceeded males in their intentions to enter the labour force after high school. Most significant of all in Berdie's study of Minneapolis youth, however, was his finding that father's occupation was one of the crucial factors relating to college plans. Eighty percent of those who intended to go to college stated that their families wanted them to go -- a further indication of parental educational values, and consequent parental stress on college. Berdie's research also examined the relationship of the socio-cultural environment of the home (as measured by the presence or absence of specific cultural items such as books, magazines, etc.) and college plans. Berdie's data suggest:

> "...that cultural status certainly is as important as, if not more important than, economic status in determining whether or not a high school graduate plans to attend college".
>
> (1954: 63)

Of direct relevance to the situation in Quebec, and in many ways supportive of earlier studies, is a research undertaken by Gaumond and Monnier (1974) in connection with the "Relance 1973" project. Such factors as father's education and income, sex, programme of studies, and satisfaction with school were among the major indicators of educational tenure.

Our review of the literature on "aspirations" has revealed a number of variables which operate as predictors of student educational aspirations. Sex, socio-economic status, parental stress, father's occupation, and cultural status of the home have all been shown to be of considerable influence.

THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

Introduction

Cooley's notion of the "primary group" serves as the frame of reference for our general hypothesis that the background, structure, and organization of the family of the non-student are in important ways different from that of the student. In Social Organization, Cooley sees "primary groups" as characterized by intimate, face-to-face association, direct co-operation and conflict, a relatively free play of personality, and of sentiment. He cites as examples of "primary groups" the family, the play group, and the intimate neighbourhood, and clearly notes: "They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual". (1963: 23)

The Conceptual Framework

Our interest, therefore, in the family of orientation is based on the premise that certain behaviour patterns are established primarily by early experience in the family context. In similar vein, Cervantes (1966) regards the nuclear family of father-mother-offspring as "the matrix and prime determinant of human personality", and of prime importance in the development or lack of development of youth. Another major influence in the distinction between academic successes and academic failures appears to be what Hollingshead (1949) referred to as the"family culture". He found that a poorer family heritage and/or lack of training in the home leads directly to a significantly poorer adjustment on the part of children to school in particular, and to life in general.

Parental attitudes towards education and their effect on their child's academic progress, constitute an added dimension of "family culture". Allen's (1956) data showed that the child's educational attainment was highly correlated with that of the parents, and that siblings within the same family tend to leave school at about the same age or grade level. Such a "family educational pattern", it is contended, is a product of the attitudes which parents convey to their children, either explicitly or implicitly, in the process of socialization.

Of even apparently greater significance are the parents' activities and the influences which they bring to bear on their children. A study by Dave (1963) on the environmental effects on educational achievement revealed that intellectual and academic orientation within the home environment can combine to create either positive or negative influences which affect the child's behavioural patterns in school. The research identified six relevant variables which were highly correlated with academic achievement:

(1) achievement press (parental pressure to achieve in school);
(2) language models in the home;
(3) academic guidance in the home;
(4) stimulation to explore various aspects of the larger environment;
(5) intellectual interests and activities in the home;
(6) emphasis on work habits in the home.

Cervantes' (1966) work on high school dropouts and graduates lends further support to the conclusions concerning the effects of intellectual and academic orientation within the home. His study revealed that the dropout is more likely to be reared in a family which has less solidarity, less primary relatedness, and less parental influence than that of the family of the graduate. For example, 81% of the dropouts indicated there was inadequate communication in their families, compared with 80% of the graduates who indicated the exact opposite familial situation. Similarly, 79% of the dropouts felt misunderstood and rejected by their families, while 84% of the graduates felt understood and accepted by their families. Furthermore, Cervantes found that the type of parental support was an important distinguishing factor between the two groups. In the case of the graduate, their families were better able to help them with their school problems; while among the dropouts it was more a case of their parents nagging them and pushing them into something they did not really want.

A major conclusion that emerges from the literature in this area is that anti-school or anti-education attitudes on the part of parents are highly correlated with shorter school tenure of their children.

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT AND EXPERIENCE

Introduction

The school context consists of two subsystems: the formal (academic/administrative) and the informal (non-academic/social). The former comprises the "official" values of the adult community, while the latter incorporates the values of the youth culture with its own norms and goals. Success in the formal system is defined in terms of academic achievement. In the informal system, it is defined in terms of social activities.

In contemporary American and Canadian societies, as well as in other modern industrial societies, a substantial part of every youth's life is spent in school. The school milieu therefore, which includes teachers, peers, courses of study, and curricular and non-curricular activities, emerges as an important experience and a significant area of interaction in determining the individual's aspirations for further education. Accordingly, many of the studies dealing with the effects of the school upon students' aspirations have either focused upon the "climate" of the school as the determining factor, or upon the student-peer group as the determining factor.

The American school, as well as its Canadian counterpart, is said to be a middle-class institution. As such its major concerns have allegedly been the elimination of behaviour problems, a concern with visible order, and the socialization of the student in the middle-class values of hard work, personal responsibility, respect for authority, cleanliness, punctuality, courtesy, an orientation to future goals, etc. It is further contended that the school's approach to all students has been the same, without regard for the individual's background. As a middle-class institution, the school is seen as discontinuous with the realities of lower-class life, and therefore unable to reach lower-class children because it is not geared to deal with them on their own level. Since the dropout problem, by and large, is centered in the lower social classes, the school emerges as an important "push" factor in the process in the sense that rather than creating and fostering aspirations in the student, the school in effect discourages him and drives him out.

Becker (1955) observes that the schools, as transmitters of a valued cultural heritage, serve an important role in the area of social mobility, for education is both a symbol of social position and a means by which higher position may be achieved. Consequently, the amount of access to education is one of the keys to the amount of mobility possible in a society. Becker's major thesis is that "the schools, organized in terms of one of the sub-cultures of a heterogeneous society, tend to operate in such a way that members of subordinate groups of differing cultures do not get their fair share of educational opportunities, and thus of opportunities for social mobility". The author maintains that the schools function importantly in the operation of the system of status and social class of the societies in which they exist.

Hollingshead (1949) also emphasizes the relationships between social class and school experiences and performance in Elmtown's Youth. Course enrollment, participation in extra-curricular activities, grade achievement, and college plans were all related to the social class of the student. Although the students' educational aspirations, as a function of their school experience, were not directly dealt with, Hollingshead does describe the differential attitudes toward and treatment of students from different class backgrounds, which may have important consequences for the student and his further education.

Rhodes (1968) conducted a study of the compositional effects of the schools in Nashville, Tennessee, which showed the existence of a relationship between the socio-economic or racial composition of the school and the individual's chances of dropping out of school. Although this relationship is somewhat independent of family and occupational level, individual ability or motivation, there is evidence that some interaction does exist between the socio-economic level of the student and the socio-economic level of the school. The study further states that the combination of attending a lower-class school and negative influences from any other single source greatly increases the chances that a student will become a dropout. Rhodes concludes that an individual's chance of leaving school before graduation varies inversely with the socio-economic composition or context of the school.

Elliot, Voss and Wendling (1966) in their study of the social milieu of the high school, observe that dropouts on the part of intellectually capable youth occur differentially among the various socio-economic classes. The researchers maintain that socialization in middle-class families prepares youth to compete successfully in school, while in lower-class families children are not trained to conform to the academic and informal requirements of the school. Capable students are thus seen as leaving school in response to status deprivation experienced both in the academic system of the school and in the informal network of neer relations.

Coleman (1963) sees the lower-status school as representing a particular type of a subculture which acts as a brake on achievement and school persistence by perpetuating a set of values and norms that depreciate the value of education and are incompatible with educational achievement.

Bell (1967) investigated the relationship of participation in extra-curricular activities and dropouts in Kansas City high schools. The results show that a lack of participation in school activities is a significant characteristic of the dropout. Bell concludes that a meaningful experience in an activity of his own choice can make the difference between a high school dropout and a high school graduate.

In an earlier study of factors involved in the dropout process, Thomas (1955) found that not one person who dropped out before completing the third year of high school had engaged in even one extra-curricular activity, whereas 89% of those who finished high school had participated in such activities. The study also revealed that in every method of comparison or grouping used, school activities were found to be the factor most related to whether or not the student finished high school, and by far the most striking difference between those who finish and those who drop out. Thomas sees the student as either part of a total school program and interested in all phases of it, or else he is not a part of the total program and may cease to have any connection with the school at all.

As the foregoing studies indicate, the school context is a rather complex one. Accordingly, a number of diverse theories have emerged from the perspectives taken by the various social sciences. Cervantes (1966) examines the theories developed by the different disciplines, and refutes them with findings from his own work. He notes, for example, that class theory sees continuation in school as mainly a function of social class; that economic theory views early withdrawal from school as essentially a matter of lack of funds; that educational theory regards continuation in school essentially a matter of I.Q., and that sociological theory tends to consider the home and school as independent and isolated systems. In examining these theories, Cervantes found that there was a polarization within class groups which was independent of class; that lack of funds was all but irrelevant in the immediate situation; that there was a vast overlapping of I.Q.'s among dropouts and stayins; and that only in the cases of the dropouts could the home and school be considered as independent and isolated social systems. Among the graduates, the tendency was for the two systems to be interpenetrating, with the school acting as an agent of the home.

The present research, in considering the school experience as a determining factor of educational tenure, focuses upon the "climate" of the school and the student-peer group relations. In particular, we look at the school situation in terms of such factors as academic achievement, educational aspirations, course or curriculum of studies, participation in extra-curricular activities, academic or disciplinary problems, and general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with school

THE ADOLESCENT PEER-GROUP

Introduction

At least as important as the family of orientation, if not even more so, is the orientation of the adolescent friendship group. The literature on adolescence and youth reveals that the young person in our society, as a response to his situation of rapid biological change and marginal social status, seeks to develop a new frame of reference for his values and actions. The context of a technical, urban society, with increasing specialization, high levels of training and an ever-extended period of compulsory formal education, constitute the conditions that lead to the formation of the adolescent peer group. Furthermore, extended exposure to peers, and relative isolation from the larger society, leads to the development of a distinctive sub-culture. Each individual, in the process, acquires values and a life-style that conform in some degree to the dominant norms of the group. Sherif and Sherif (1964) observe: "As he finds his personal identity and sources of recognition almost exclusively within the bounds of this tightly knit group, he is less responsive to rewards, enticements, and threats from outside of the group".

It is our contention, therefore, that if the shared attitudes of the peer group are dissonant with those of the family, then the family's influence will be weakened accordingly. Conversely, if the shared attitudes of the peer group are consonant with those of the family, then the family's influence will be strengthened accordingly.

In this regard, Seidler and Ravitz (1955), Rosen (1955), and others, furnish evidence to show that, in general, the peer culture is stronger in its influence than is the family of orientation, and that often it negates the effects of parental pressure. Peer pressures appear to override those of parents in the formation of social beliefs, political opinions, and occupational aspirations.

The Conceptual Framework

For more than two decades now there have existed, in American sociology, conflicting interpretations over the question of youth in the context of modern societies. These conflicting interpretations, which centre around the issue of whether the "youth culture" is dependent on or independent of the adult culture, form the conceptual framework for our analysis of the influence of age-mates in the lives of our respondents.

Eisentstadt (1960), Coleman (1962), and Parsons (1962) are among those who assert that the adolescent maintains a separate and distinct set of values and norms from adults which, whether intentionally or otherwise, often conflicts with the value and normative systems of the adult world.

Parsons (1962) declares in "Youth in the Context of American Society" that the most conspicuous feature of the youth peer group is a "duality of orientation" which manifests itself in three principal characteristics: (1) "Compulsive independence of and antagonism to adult expectations and authority", (2) "Compulsive conformity within the peer group of age mates", and (3) "Romanticism: an unrealistic idealization of emotionally significant objects".

Parsons elaborates on this theme even further in his analysis of "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States". Referring to the set of patterns and behavior phenomena which characterize the youth culture in America he writes: "Perhaps the best single point of reference for characterizing the youth culture lies in its contrast with the dominant pattern of the adult male role. By contrast with the emphasis on responsibility in this role, the orientation of the youth culture is more or less specifically irresponsible". Parsons goes on to note that among the dominant feature themes of the American youth culture are "having a good time", emphasized in terms of social activities involving the opposite sex, and the prominence of athletics, especially on the part of the male, "which is an avenue of achievement and competition which stands in sharp contrast to the primary standards of adult achievement in professional and executive capacities". Yinger (1960) contends that this irresponsibility cannot be understood as merely another cultural norm or as part of the "role" of youth, but must rather be seen in the context of role strain and role ambiguity. Not only are the adolescent norms different from adult norms, but are often in direct conflict with them. Parsons offers as an explanation of this sharp conflict of values the fact that: "Negatively, there is a strong tendency to repudiate interest in adult things and to feel at least a certain recalcitrance to the pressure of adult expectations and discipline."

The period of youth in American society is thus portrayed by Parsons as one of considerable strain and insecurity, not only as a matter of age status, but also as a product of tensions and conflicts in youth-adult relationships. Parsons maintains that the transition from family particularism and ascription to the universalism and achievement-orientation of the adult world induces tension in the adolescent, and even though he sees the youth culture as integrated into modern society, one of its functions is to allow a psychological outlet for this tension through rebellious behaviour. In particular, the strong demands of the educational and occupational systems in modern societies generate strains which, Parsons contends, lead to a condition of anomic strain among adolescents which, in turn, leads to a de-emphasis on intellectual interests and academic performance. Over time, however, Parsons notes, the American middle-class family has developed a structure and style which tends to articulate with the occupational sphere, so that whatever youth culture does emerge in American society, it is likely to be fairly well integrated with conventional values.

Both Parsons (1962) and Eisenstadt (1960) essentially argue that self-conscious adolescent subcultures and movements tend to develop when there is a sharp disjunction between the values and expectations embodied in the traditional families in a society, and the values and expectations prevailing in the occupational sphere. The greater the disjunction, the more self-conscious and oppositional will be the youth culture, as for example, in the case of rapid transition from a traditional-ascriptive social system to a bureaucratic-achievement social system. In modern industrial society, such a disjunction exists since families are, by definition, particularistic, ascriptive, and diffuse, whereas the occupational sphere, by definition, is universalistic, impersonal, achievement-oriented, and functionally specific.

Eisenstadt (1960) argues that the adolescent peer group constitutes an "adaptive mechanism", i.e., "an interlinking sphere between the family and other institutionalized spheres of the society" as for example, the social, political, economic, occupational, etc., sectors. He further states that such an adaptive mechanism as the interlinking sphere "is organized in such a way that, on the one hand, it makes possible the gratification of at least some of the role-expectations roused in one institutional sector; while on the other hand it links the gratification of at least some of the role-expectations in the other institutional sectors". The structure of the interlinking sphere thus enables the adolescent to maintain particularistic and ascriptive relationships, and to experience gratifications similar to those of the family: while at the same time, allowing for emphasis on some role aspects which are universalistic and achievement-oriented. As the family's capacity to meet the adolescent's needs and aspirations is reduced, there is accordingly a concomitant rise in the degree of autonomy of the adolescent peer group.

In a similar vein to Parsons and Eisenstadt, Coleman (1960) stresses the oppositional nature of the youth culture. He sees adolescents in American society as "cut off" from the adult world; "set apart", as it were, in institutions of their own; spending much of their time outside of the home; in virtual exclusive association with and surrounded by their age-mates; and given the means for a fair amount of independent existence: "cars, freedom in dating, continual contact with the other sex, money, and entertainment, like popular music and movies, designed especially for them". (1960: 337)

Coleman (1962) reiterates the theme of an independent youth culture in The Adolescent Society, in which he states that the adolescent:

> "is 'cut off' from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age. With his fellows, he comes to constitute a small society, one that has most of its important interactions within itself, and maintain only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society".
>
> (1962: 3)

Coleman argues that due to rapid social and economic change, education has become removed from the hands of the family. The resultant isolation of the child from the home, and his subsequent commitment to peers, weakens his ties with parents and conventional norms, including a de-emphasis on academic activity.

Research in the areas of deviance and dropouts (Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1959; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cervantes, 1966; Bronfenbrenner, 1967-1970; Elliot and Voss, 1974) lends support and credence to the notion that, in general, the influence of the peer-group is not only stronger than that of the family, but often negates it to the extent that intrafamilial relations, standards of behaviour, and values have little, if any, direct influence on the adolescent. The major consensus in the literature, therefore, is that the peer-group tends to be of greater influence on the adolescent in the formation of values, attitudes, and behaviour than is the family of orientation.

A major criticism of the foregoing description of adolescence in America is that it purports to portray a modal pattern of adolescence, and as such is open to question concerning the universality of its application, especially to middle-class urban youth. The proponents of the "independent adolescent subculture" are challenged in a number of studies which contend that the American youth culture is dependent on, subject to and in consonance with adult influence and control. Bernard (1961) maintains that far from rejecting adult values, American adolescents are the bearers of a conservative, traditional culture which renders the adult culture the supreme compliment of imitating or borrowing it, and adapting it to their own needs. The author sees the teen-age culture, even in its contrapuntal forms, as an adaptation to or prototype or caricature of adult culture. Elkin and Westley (1955), in a research designed to test the universal applicability of the modal adolescent pattern, studied a sample of upper middle-class youth in Montreal and found a dominant pattern of adult-directed and adult-approved activities, close family ties, and a continuity of socialization that exceeded the discontinuities. These studies further challenge the proponents of the "adolescent subculture" on the grounds of their apparent tendency to ignore deferred gratification patterns, the internalization of adult modes of thought and behaviour, instances of family solidarity, positive relationships vis-a-vis authority figures, or interests which the teen-ager may have apart from his peers. While acknowledging the existence of psychological tensions and distinctive interests among adolescents, these studies nevertheless contend that, at least among the middle-class, the modal adolescent pattern is an erroneous concept and without adequate substantiation.

Berger (1963) proposes a concept of youth that is compatible with that of Elkin and Westley, and which takes issue with the "anti-adult" nature of the youth culture as described by Parsons, Eisenstadt and Coleman. Berger argues that such a characterization "clearly excludes those large numbers of adolescents who have had no important experience in anything remotely resembling such a milieu", and further: "since whatever it is that is normatively distinctive about youth culture is probably not characteristic of all or even most adolescents, it is not attributable solely or even primarily to chronological age".

Whatever the validity or invalidity of the contradiction between the sociological models of contemporary adolescent culture, a resolution of the conflicting professional interpretations can be drawn from the conclusions reached by Cervantes (1966) who found that independence, antagonism, and rebelliousness were characteristics of the dropout youth culture, while harmony and continuity with the adult culture were characteristic of the graduate youth culture. Cervantes also found that the dropout's personal friends were typically not approved by his parents, and that in the critical confrontation of parents versus peer, 80% of the dropouts expressed intergenerational conflict, while 80% of the graduates expressed intergenerational harmony. The Cervantes study concludes from the data that the graduate derives his characteristic influence from the sources that originate in the home, whereas the dropout derives his characteristic influence from sources that originate outside the home.

Our present research, therefore, considers the question of whether, given the existence of a youth culture, there is a difference in the structure and orientations of different peer-groups within the subculture which can account for the variation in choices of educational tenure.

THE STUDY DESIGN

Source of the Data

The data for this study were obtained from the responses of over 20,000 Quebec secondary school, C.E.G.E.P. and private collegial students to a survey questionnaire administered by the Centre de Sondage de l'Université de Montréal in collaboration with Le Projet de Recherche A.S.O.P.E. (Aspirations Scolaires et Orientations Professionnelles des Etudiants) under the direction of M. Pierre W. Bélanger (Université Laval) and M. Guy Rocher (Université de Montréal). Le Projet A.S.O.P.E. began in 1972, and consists of four categories of respondents: Cohorte I (Secondaire I); Cohorte 2 (Secondaire III); Cohorte 3 (Secondaire V); and Cohorte 4 (CEGEP II). All regions of Quebec are represented in the survey, as well as the two major linguistic educational systems, French and English.

We shall limit our analysis to a comparison of students and non-students at two educational levels: Secondaire I and Secondaire V, and at different times. In the case of Secondaire I, the time intervals are designated T-I (1972) and T-3 (1974), while in the case of Secondaire V, T-I (1972), T-2 (1973), and T-3 (1974) constitute the designated time intervals. The total number of respondents in Secondaire I is 5,820 (4,234 French, 1,586 non-French). The total number of respondents in Secondaire V is 10,192 (7,112 French, 3,080 non-French). Our intention is to conduct a "longitudinal" study of each cohort for the designated time intervals, as well as a "cross-sectional" study of the differences between "junior" secondary school students (Secondaire I) and "senior" secondary school students (Secondaire V). A random sample will be selected from the total number of respondents in each cohort, and our analysis will involve an examination of each sub-sample separately.

Secondaire I, according to the data provided by A.S.O.P.E., consisted of an overall total number of 5,843 cases, sub-divided into three classifications: File 1, containing 4,410 cases, was classified as "students", i.e.,those who were still in school at both time intervals. File 2, containing 200 cases, was classified as "non-students", i.e., those who were in school in 1972 but no longer in school in 1974. File 3, containing 1,233 cases, was classified as "non-response", i.e., those who were in school in 1972, but were not accessible in 1974, and are considered as sample loss or sample "mortality" for the present purposes. In order to facilitate the analysis of data, a random sample of "students" (File 1 cases) was devised numbering 464 -- just over 10% of the total cases. The number of "non-students" (File 2 cases) totalled 200, and was retained intact. Our sub-sample, which comprises the basis for analysis, numbers 664 respondents, and represents close to 15% of the total combined cases of "students" and "non-students" in Secondaire I.

Variables and Control Factors

Student/Non-Student classification comprises the dichotomous dependent variable in the present study. "Student" is defined as one who has been enrolled in school at both time intervals when the survey was conducted. "Non-student" is here defined as one who was enrolled in school when the initial survey was conducted (1972), but was no longer in attendance when the survey was repeated (1974).

Four major factors constitute the independent variables in this study: (1) Educational and Occupational Aspirations; (2) The Family of Orientation; (3) The School Context and Experience; and (4) Peer Associations and Influence. The control variables include sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education. Our initial statistical value will be that of chi-square (X^2) in order to test for independence, and for degree of association. Level of significance will be established at <.05. We shall later utilize more sophisticated and high-powered multivariate statistical techniques such as factor analysis and discriminant analysis.

In the course of our preliminary examination of the survey data, an additional variable -- perception of self -- emerged as relevant and appropriate to this particular research. Accordingly, we have included it as our fifth major independent variable, and have labelled it "Self-Perception and Life-Orientation".

The Dichotomous Dependent Variable

As already indicated, student/non-student status constitutes the dichotomous dependent variable in this study. By way of clarification, however, we have chosen to distinguish between potential students and non-students, and actual students and non-students. Our 1972 respondents, all of whom were enrolled in school at the time of the initial survey, are here designated as either "potential" students or non-students on the basis of their actual status at the time of the follow-up survey, 1973, 1974, etc. Subsequently, in our analysis of the 1973 and 1974 data, our respondents are categorized as either student or non-student in accordance with their actual status at those time intervals.

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF DATA

SECONDAIRE I (1972 AND 1974)

ASPIRATIONS

ASPIRATIONS

The social science literature abounds with a variety of approaches and orientations to the study of human aspirations. With specific application to educational aspirations, many of the studies show that certain determinants of educational aspirations are also determinants of occupational and other types of aspiration. As for the present study, our examination of adolescent aspirations (educational and occupational) involves three inter-related dimensions: desires (ideal), expectations (actual), and commitment (achievement). Our contention is that for an individual to have high aspirations, he must not only desire and expect certain goals, but must also make a commitment toward the attainment of those goals. Such commitment, as our results demonstrate, is manifested in the individual's endeavour and desire to achieve "good" grades in school.

We further maintain that aspirations are influenced by parental values and attitudes which are transmitted through the process of socialization, emerge early in life, and develop within the family of orientation. Aspirations are thus indicative of and correlated with social class. Our own findings, illustrated below, concur with earlier works on the subject (Hollingshead, 1949; Kahl, 1953, Bordua, 1960; Forcese, 1975; Tepperman, 1975). Our data show that one's ideal aspirations are indeed an influence on and indicator of one's actual behaviour. A consistent and recurrent pattern emerges at every stage in the analysis: significantly greater proportions of students than non-students desired to achieve and actually expected to attain high levels of formal education (collegial and university), and concomitantly, desired and expected to attain the more prestigious and high status occupations. Likewise, achievement commitment, as manifested in the individual's desire to succeed in school, is conclusively demonstrated in this study in terms of the respondent's actual academic performance (objective evaluation) and his assessment of self as student (subjective evaluation).

Three major "aspirations" hypotheses were tested in this study, and were confirmed at a very high level of statistical significance (<.001). Our results reveal a consistent and recurrent student/non-student dichotomy in terms of the following general hypotheses:

> The higher the socioeconomic status of the family, the higher the level of education the parents desire for their children.
>
> The higher the level of education the parents desire for their children, the more positive will be the child's evaluation of education.
>
> The more negative the child's educational value, the lower his or her educational aspirations.

Our central questions on this variable are intended to ascertain the level of education the respondent desires to achieve, and what level he or she actually expects to achieve:

> "If you had your choice, how far would you like to go in school?"
>
> "Actually, how far do you expect to go in school?"

Tables 1-6 illustrate the response patterns to our two principal sets questions on educational aspirations. For the purposes of comparison, and in order to retain the "longitudinal" and "cross-sectional" nature of this study, our data are arranged in the following order: Secondaire I (1972) and (1974); and Secondaire V (1972), (1973) and (1974); corresponding to the various time intervals at which the questionnaires were administrated, and to the two educational levels in the original survey, i.e., "junior" and "senior" high school (Secondaire I and Secondaire V).

In the interests of clarity and conciseness, our analysis concentrates on a number of selected variables, found to be statistically significant, in each area under investigation. Our general format, therefore, proceeds as follows: Educational and Occupational Aspirations, The Family of Orientation; The School Experience; The Adolescent Peer Group; and Self-Perception and Life-Orientation.

TABLE I

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Educational Aspirations (in 1972)

Status 1974	Leave High School	Finish High School	Collegial	University	n:
Students	7.2	20.3	26.4	46.2	459
Non-Stud.	33.9	47.4	8.9	9.9	192

$p < .001$

Table 2

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Educational Expectations (in 1972)

Status 1974	Leave High School	Finish High School	Collegial	University	n:
Students	7.9	24.6	27.9	39.6	455
Non-Stud.	34.6	48.7	10.4	6.3	191

$p < .001$

Tables 1 and 2 immediately reveal highly significant differences between our two categories of respondents at this rather early level in their secondary school career. At this stage, our respondents can only be designated as "potential" students or "potential" non-students, since they are all still in school, but the data nevertheless show an interesting pattern that is encountered over and over again, and serve as predictors of actual future outcomes. As shown in Table 1, nearly four times the proportion of potential students (72.6%) to potential non-students (18.8%) desire to achieve a post-secondary (collegial or university) education, while conversely, more than double the proportion of potential non-students (47.4%) to potential students (20.3%) desire to achieve a secondary school level only. At the other end of the scale, one-third of the potential non-students (33.9%), compared to just 7.2% of the potential students, desire to discontinue their education without completion of high school. A quite similar pattern of responses occurs in reference to actual educational expectations, as illustrated in Table 2. More than two-thirds of the potential students (67.5%) compared to fewer than one-fifth of the potential non-students (16.7%), actually expect to achieve a collegial or university education, while twice the proportion of potential non-students (48.7%) to potential students (24.6%) actually expect to complete high school only. As in the case of ideal aspirations, similar proportions of potential non-students (34.6%) to potential students (7.9%) actually expect to leave high school before completion of their studies.

The significant differences between our two categories of respondents in terms of educational aspirations and educational expectations remained constant when controlled for sex, ethnic, origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Occupational Preferences

Breton (1972: 229) notes that "occupational preference and educational intention can be regarded as indicators of the same phenomenon: the level of aspiration; indeed, several empirical and theoretical studies treat them as interchangeable". In the present context, we consider two dimensions of occupational preference: desired or wished for occupation (ideal), and expected or anticipated occupation (actual). Tables 3-4 illustrate the responses to our two principal questions in this regard, as follows:

> "If you had your choice, what sort of job or occupation would you like to make your life's work or career?"
>
> "Considering your ability, marks, ambitions, and family finances, what do you think you will actually end up doing?"

TABLE 3

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Occupational Aspirations (in 1972)

Status 1974	Professional-Managerial	White Collar	Skilled	Non/Semi Skilled	n:
Students	64.7	17.7	15.0	2.7	447
Non-Stud.	35.8	14.2	41.1	8.9	190

$p < .001$

TABLE 4

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Occupational Expectations (in 1972)

Status 1974	Professional-Managerial	White Collar	Skilled	Non/Semi Skilled	n:
Students	55.3	22.9	16.4	5.3	432
Non-Stud.	29.6	18.3	34.9	17.2	169

$p < .001$

An interesting pattern or constellation of occupational desires and anticipations, as revealed in the above tables (Tables 3 and 4), emerges at this very early stage in the educational process. While we have reduced the original fifteen occupational choices listed in the questionnaires into four major categories. the relationship between educational orientations and occupational preferences remains intact. Not surprisingly, therefore, Table 3 shows that close to two-thirds of the potential students (64.7%), compared to just over one-third of the potential non-students (35.8%), aspire to achieve high status and more prestigious "professional/managerial" types of occupation, while conversely, nearly three times the proportion of potential non-students (50.0%) to potential students (17.7%) aspire to low status and less prestigious "skilled", "semi-skilled", and "non-skilled" types of occupation. As for the medium status and moderately prestigious "white collar" types of occupation, the differences between our two categories of respondents is not great, but here, too, the proportion of potential students (17.7%) exceeds that of the potential non-students (14.2%).

As for actual occupational expectations, a similar profile of preferences emerges. As seen in Table 4, more than one-half of the potential students (55.3%) expect to attain "professional/managerial" types of occupation, while such is the case for 29.6% of the potential non-students. At the other end of the occupational status and prestige scale, more than double the proportion of potential non-students (52.1%) to potential students (21.7%) anticipate "skilled","non-skilled" or "semi-skilled" types of occupation. Once again, the proportion of potential students (22.9%) who anticipate "white collar" jobs exceeds that of the potential non-students (18.3%), but only slightly.

Potential student/potential non-student differences in terms of occupational preferences remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Subsequent Findings: Secondaire I (1974)

In an endeavour to obtain valid "longitudinal" comparisons, and in order to ascertain to what extent certain variables that were found to be significant in the original survey (1972) continue to be so in the subsequent (1974) interview (thus serving as "predictors" of future outcomes), we turn now to a consideration of the data obtained in the follow-up survey. Our respondents, at this juncture, were re-interviewed by means of modified questionnaires two years after the initial survey. The original sample of Secondaire I respondents, all of whom were in school during the 1971-72 academic year, are now (1973-74) dichotomized into actual categories of "students" (enrolled in and attendance at school) and "non-students" (not enrolled in and not in attendance at school). (For the sake of convenience, we refer to Secondaire I (1974) as "Middle High School" respondents to correspond with their grade-level status at this point in their scholastic career).

TABLE 5

Educational Orientations (in 1974) By Educational Aspirations (in 1974)

Status 1974	Leave High School	Finish High School	Collegial	University	n:
Students	8.8	32.2	25.2	33.9	457
Non-Stud.	39.1	48.2	8.0	4.6	87

p <.001

TABLE 6

Educational Orientations (in 1974) By Educational Expectations (in 1974)

Status 1974	Leave High School	Finish High School	Collegial	University	n:
Students	9.1	34.7	29.3	27.0	460
Non-Stud.	41.7	44.8	11.9	1.5	67

$p < .001$

At the mid-point in their secondary school career, the distinction between our two categories of respondents continues to be clear-cut and highly significant. As indicated in the Table 5 data, virtually five times the proportion of students (59.1%) to non-students (12.6%) aspire to attain a post-secondary (collegial or university) level of education, while at the other end of the scale, more than four times the proportion of non-students (39.1%) to students (8.8%) aspire to leave school before completion of their studies. Interestingly enough, the greatest proportion of non-students (48.2%) desire to at least finish high school, while such is the case for fewer than one-third of the students (32.2%). Actual expectations, as represented in Table 6, correspond quite closely to ideal aspirations. More than one-half of the students (56.3%), compared to just 13.4% of the non-students, actually expect to attain a post-secondary (collegial or university) education, while conversely, 41.7% of the non-students to just 9.1% of the students, actually expect to leave school (or have already left) without the successful completion of studies. The greatest proportion of non-students (44.8%) actually expect to at least finish high school, while such is the case for slightly more than one-third of the students (34.7%).

Additional measures of educational aspirations were obtained from three questions designed to ascertain: (1) how many years of continued education the respondent would (ideally) like to pursue beyond his or her present grade (Secondaire III) in school; (2) what the respondent considered to be the minimum level of education for someone in today's society; and (3) the respondent's opinion of the importance that is attached to education in hiring practices. Significant student/non-student differences were obtained for each of these dimensions of educational aspiration. The findings are listed below in Tables 7-9.

TABLE 7

Educational Orientations (in 1974) By Desire For Further Studies (in 1974)

Status 1974	1 Yr. or Less	2-4 Yrs.	5-7 Yrs.	8 Yrs. or More	Don't Know	n:
Students	4.3	37.5	27.7	13.4	16.9	461
Non-Stud.	9.0	44.9	3.3	0	42.7	89

$p < .001$

Given that our respondents were only in Grade 9 at the second time interval (1974), the patterns of response are most revealing, and even further substantiate our earlier findings on the effects of educational aspirations. Table 7 illustrates the responses to the question: "If you had your choice, for how many years would you like to continue your studies beyond the present school year?" As can be readily discerned, twice as many non-students (9%) as students (4.3%) indicate they only wish to continue one year or less beyond Secondaire III, implying in effect, non-completion of high school. Among those who wish to continue for another two to four years, i.e., high school completion and CEGEP only, the proportion of non-students (44.9%) somewhat exceeds that of the students (37.5%). The most startling results are revealed among those who wish to pursue their studies another five to seven years, i.e., university education at the bachelor's level, or even further, for eight or more years, i.e., university education at the master's or doctoral level. Approximately nine times the proportion of students (27.7%) as non-students (3.3%) indicate a desire to continue their studies 5-7 years beyond Secondaire III, while 13.4% of the students, compared to none of the non-students, desire to continue school for eight or more years. Interestingly enough, more than twice the proportion of non-students (42.7%) as students (16.9%) profess they do not know how far beyond Secondaire III they would like to continue their studies.

TABLE 8

Educational Orientations (in 1974) By Minimum Education Considered Necessary for Present Society (in 1974)

Status 1974	Elementary (Sec. III or Less)	Secondary (Sec. IV-V)	Post-Secondary (Collegial-University)	n:
Students	10.0	62.1	27.9	459
Non-Stud.	31.9	48.2	20.0	185

$p < .001$

Table 8 contains the data in response to the question: "In your opinion, what is the minimum level of education for someone in today's society?" As the results show, more than three times the proportion of non-students (31.9%) to students (10%) consider their current level (Secondaire III) or less to be minimally functional for the present society. At the other end of the scale, 27.9% of the students, compared to 20% of the non-students, consider post-secondary education (collegial or university) to be the minimum level. The greatest proportion of both categories of respondents consider a high school education as the minimum, but on this measure, too, the proportion of students (62.1%) well exceeds that of the non-students, (48.2%).

"Do you feel that in hiring practices, too much, just enough, or too little importance is attached to the level of education?"

TABLE 9

Educational Orientations (in 1974) By Perceived Importance of Education in Employment Hiring Practices (in 1974)

Status 1974	Too Much	Just Enough	Too Little	n:
Students	19.3	64.5	16.2	456
Non-Stud.	34.2	50.8	15.0	193

p <.001

Responses to the above question, as illustrated in Table 9, show that almost two-thirds of the students (64.5%), compared to just one-half of the non-students (50.8%) are of the opinion that "just enough" importance is attached to education in employment practices. While virtually equal proportions of students (16.2%) and non-students (15%) think "too little" importance is attached to education in employment, nearly twice as many non-students (34.2%) as students (19.3%) think just the opposite, i.e., that "too much" importance is attached to education in employment practices.

FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

Our interest in the adolescent's family of orientation is premised on the notion that it (the family) "is perhaps the most important social institution shaping the individual's future and outlook; it is important not only as an agency transmitting social class and ethnic characteristics and traits, but also as an institution with its own structure and culture". (Breton, 1972: 167) Our general hypothesis, therefore, is that the background, structure, and organization of the family of the student are in important ways different from those of the non-student. Several dimensions of "family culture", as they pertain to and affect the adolescent's educational intentions, are examined in the present context. In particular, we consider parental educational attainment, parental pressure, father's occupation, familial interaction patterns, size of family, and residence of family.

Parental Educational Attainment

Allen (1956) showed that the child's educational attainment was highly correlated with that of the parents, and that siblings within the same family tend to leave school at about the same age or grade level. Dave (1963) found that intellectual and academic orientation within the home environment can combine to create either positive or negative influences which affect the child's behavioural pattern in school. Our present findings tend to corroborate those of the aforementioned authors, as well as those of Kahl (1953) and Krauss (1964) who found parental press to be one of the strongest factors in determining one's academic orientations.

The data contained in Tables 10 and 11 confirm our hypotheses that the educational attainment of the parents has a positive influence on the educational intentions of their children, and that there is a direct relationship between parental level of education and the scholastic orientations of their children.

TABLE 10

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Father's Level of Education (in 1972)

Status 1974	Elementary (1-7)	Secondary (8-11)	Post-Secondary (12-16 or more)	Don't Know	n:
Students	46.9	16.1	15.4	21.6	435
Non-Stud.	72.0	13.2	3.3	11.5	182

p <.001

TABLE 11

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Mother's Level of Education (in 1972)

Status 1974	Elementary (1-7)	Secondary (8-11)	Post-Secondary (12-16 or more)	Don't Know	n:
Students	46.3	22.2	14.0	17.4	436
Non-Stud.	73.6	13.7	2.1	10.4	182

p <.001

The data on paternal educational attainment, as illustrated in Table 10, reveal highly significant differences, at all levels of education, between our two categories of respondents. Close to three-quarters of the potential non-students (72%) indicate the education of their fathers as "elementary", while such is the case among less than one-half of the potential students (46.9%). At the higher levels of educational attainment, twice the proportion of potential students (31.5%) as potential non-students (16.5%) declare the education of their fathers as "secondary" or "post-secondary". Table 11, maternal educational attainment, shows an almost identical pattern. Close to three-quarters of the potential non-students (73.6%) state the education of their mothers as "elementary", compared to less than one-half of the potential students (46.3%). Conversely, more than twice the proportion of potential students (36.2%) to potential non-students (15.8%) indicate the education of their mothers as "secondary" or "post-secondary".

Surprising as it seems, a rather high proportion of both categories of respondents do not know how far their parents have gone in school. Interestingly enough, proportionately more potential students than potential non-students do not know the level of their fathers' or mothers' education. The differences in terms of parental educational attainment between our potential students and potential non-students are significant irrespective of the respondents' sex and ethnic origin.

Father's Occupational Status

A further index of the socio-economic status of the family, in addition to that of parental level of education, is that of parental (more specifically, the father's) occupation. We know from the literature on stratification that social class has a significant influence on the vocational and educational choices of adolescents. Our results, like those of numerous other studies, confirm the existence of a relationship between socio-economic background and educational intentions. Our findings concur with those of Breton (1972) whose massive research on secondary school students from every province in Canada revealed that, in general, the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of adolescents were related to familial socio-economic status. Table 12 below illustrates our findings in the following manner:

TABLE 12

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Father's Occupational Status (in 1972)

Status 1974	Unskilled/Semi-Skilled	Skilled	White Collar	Professional	n:
Students	25.2	29.4	12.1	33.3	429
Non-Stud.	40.1	27.1	7.9	24.9	177

$p < .01$

The pattern which appears above is consistent with the general pattern relating educational intentions of students and socio-economic background. Table 12 shows that the largest proportion of potential non-students (40.1%) are children of fathers whose occupations (unskilled or semi-skilled) would be ranked as low status in terms of the Blishen scale, compared to 25.2% of the potential students whose fathers' occupation would be similarly ranked. Conversely, the largest proportion of the potential students (45.4%) are children of fathers whose occupations (white collar and professional) would be ranked as high status, compared to 32.8% of the potential non-students whose fathers hold similar occupations. Significant differences were found between our male respondents, but not between the females. Significant differences between our two categories of respondents hold irrespective of ethnic origin and father's education.

Internal Structure of the Family

Our examination of the family of orientation's internal structure commences with a consideration of such factors as family size and community of orientation. Several studies have shown a negative relationship between the number of children in one's family of orientation and such things as academic performance, aspirations, educational and vocational plans, etc. Similarly, size of community (or the degree of urbanization) seems to be associated with such phenomena as educational plans, career goals, etc. We are not surprised, then, that our data confirm the existence of similar relationships in the present study, as illustrated below in Tables 13 and 14.

TABLE 13

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Size of Family of Orientation (in 1972)

Status 1974	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	n:
Students	3.6	16.0	19.9	17.4	10.8	10.8	7.0	14.4	443
Non-Students	1.1	4.9	7.1	11.5	11.5	14.2	12.0	37.7	183

$p < .001$

As the above table shows, more than twice as many potential students (56.9%) as potential non-students (24.6%) come from families of one to four children, themselves included. Conversely, 75.4% of the potential non-students, compared to 43.0% of the potential students come from families of five or more children. Significant differences between our two categories of respondents hold irrespective of sex and ethnic origin. Differences are also significant among those whose fathers have an elementary school education, and among those whose fathers are unskilled or semi-skilled, or professionals.

Community of Orientation

Studies by Lipset and Bendix (1959), Grigg (1960), Elder (1963), Sewell (1964), Breton (1972), and others, show a direct relationship between size of community of orientation and level of educational aspirations, degree of social mobility, occupational goals, etc. Breton (1972) notes, for example, that "adolescents from smaller communities have lower educational aspirations, or experience less upward mobility, than those from larger". The data from the present research tend to confirm the earlier patterns as well, as illustrated in Table 14.

TABLE 14

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Size of Community of Orientation (in 1972)

Status 1974	Montreal/Quebec (Metro Area)	City (20,000)	Town (5,000 - 20,000)	Village/ Country	n:
Students	45.6	8.8	16.7	28.9	443
Non-Students	29.2	8.1	11.4	51.4	185

$p < .001$

The relationship between educational intentions and community size is most significant at the extreme ends of our scale of measurement. As Table 14 shows, 45.6% of the potential students compared to 29.2% of the non-students come from large metropolitan areas, while conversely, 51.4% of the potential non-students compared to 28.9% of the potential students come from small village or country communities. The rural-urban differences are significant in our sample irrespective of sex, father's education, and father's occupation (except skilled workers). Differences between our two categories of respondents are significant among the French, but not among the non-French.

Family Interaction Patterns

Our analysis of the structure of relationships within the family now focuses on two dimensions of familial interaction: parent-child communication; and decision-making within the family. Our major premise about intra-familial communication is that the frequency of such communication is important because the expression of feelings and beliefs tends to influence the feelings and beliefs of others. Cervantes (1966: 29-30) considers intercommunication "a catalyst of value-homophyly", and a "transaction link" between husband and wife, brothers and sisters and between the conflicting interests of parents and children. While communication does not necessarily imply or ensure consensus, it does facilitate and encourage it, and where communication is deep and extensive, similar attitudes and feelings tend to develop. Our hypothesis, therefore, is that there is less intra-familial communication in the families of the non-students than in the families of the students.

Our major premise about decision-making within the family has to do with conjugal role patterns, i.e., "the distribution of power between husband and wife in a family may also affect the aspiration of adolescents". (Breton, 1972: 181). The literature on the relationship between conjugal role patterns and educational attainment yields inconclusive results. Elder (1965: 94) concluded from data on the U.S.A. that "conjugal patterns do not affect educational attainment appreciably..." Earlier research, however, indicated an association between mother-dominance and low aspirations, low motivations, and lack of independence on the part of their children. Our own data tend to support the general hypothesis suggested by Breton (1972: 183) that "an equalitarian conjugal pattern is associated with high educational aspirations, and an individualistic pattern with low aspirations; and if one parent is dominant, it is irrelevant which one it is".

In an endeavour to ascertain the nature and extent of intrafamilial communication, three measures of such communication were examined in the present context: parental reaction to the respondent's unsatisfactory grades; frequency of child-parent discussions about future educational plans; and frequency of child-parent discussions about future occupational plans.

TABLE 15

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Parental Reaction to Unsatisfactory Grades (in 1972)

Status 1974	Do Nothing	Discuss	Criticize	Punish	Grades Always Satisfactory	n:
Students	5.5	48.6	14.1	3.0	28.8	434
Non-Stud.	10.4	50.5	22.5	5.5	11.0	182

$p < .001$

Table 15 illustrates the response pattern to the question: "When you get what your parents consider unsatisfactory grades, what do they do?" Responses are ranged on a five-point scale which includes four possible parental options and one respondent option. It is interesting to note that 28.8% of the potential students compared to only 11.0% of the potential non-students declare their grades are "always satisfactory". As for the parental reactions to unsatisfactory grades, the above table shows that dominant reaction on the part of the parents of both categories of respondents is serious discussion with the child. Interestingly enough, Table 15 shows that nearly twice as many parents of potential non-students as those of potential students tend toward negative-type responses, i.e., "do nothing", "criticize", or "punish" as a reaction pattern to their child's unsatisfactory grades. Student/non-student differences were significant irrespective of sex, and were significant among French respondents, but not non-French. Differences were also significant among those respondents whose fathers held skilled or professional occupations, and whose level of education was elementary or post-secondary.

TABLE 16

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Intrafamilial (Parent-Child) Discussions of Educational Plans (in 1972)

Status 1974	Often	Sometimes	Occasionally	Never	n:
Students	23.0	43.7	22.6	10.7	430
Non-Stud.	14.3	30.3	30.3	25.1	175

$p < .001$

While frequency of communication does not necessarily imply adequacy of communication, it is nevertheless a good measure of the degree, extent, and nature of the communication. Tables 16 and 17 further indicate the importance of parents as "significant others" or "reference models" in the formulation of educational and occupational aspirations of children. As for educational plans, our results show that the vast majority of both potential students (66.3%) and potential non-students (60.6%) discuss such plans with their parents "sometimes" or "occasionally". The extreme ends of the scale reveal even greater differences between our two categories of respondents: 23% of the potential students compared to 14.3% of the potential non-students indicate they "often" discuss their plans for further education with their parents, while conversely, 25.1% of the potential non-students as compared to 10.7% of the potential students, indicate they "never" discuss plans for further education with their parents. Significant differences between the two categories of respondents remain irrespective of sex. Differences are significant among French respondents; among those whose fathers are unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled workers ("ouvriers"); and among those whose fathers have an elementary school level of education.

TABLE 17

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Intrafamilial (Parent-Child) Discussions of Occupational Plans (in 1972)

Status 1974	Often	Sometimes	Occasionally	Never	n:
Students	24.4	48.6	20.1	6.8	438
Non-Students	36.1	38.9	13.9	11.1	180

$p < .01$

A somewhat similar, but slightly different, pattern emerges in response to the question: "How often do you discuss with your parents job plans after you finish your education?" The results, as illustrated in Table 17, show that while a majority of both potential students (68.7%) and potential non-students (52.8%) "sometimes" or "occasionally" discuss occupational plans with their parents, the differences between the two categories of respondents is considerable. Interestingly enough, as in the case of educational plans, nearly twice as many of the potential non-students (11.1%) as potential students (6.8%), declare they "never" discuss occupational plans with their parents, but conversely, a greater proportion of potential non-students (36.1%) than potential students (24.4%) state they "often" discuss job plans with their parents. This level of frequency of discussion of occupational plans, when compared with that of discussion of educational plans, suggests that for the potential non-student occupational plans at this point in his or her thinking, are of more immediate concern than educational plans since such individuals may already anticipate terminating their education either at the completion of high school or even earlier. By way of contrast, the potential students tend to be more concerned about the prospects of further education beyond high school or CEGEP. Student/non-student differences in Table 17 are significant irrespective of sex. Differences are also significant among French respondents, but not among non-French; among those whose fathers hold unskilled occupations; and among those whose father's level of education is elementary school.

Family Authority Structure

The notion of authority within the family is examined here within the framework of the decision-making patterns as manifested in terms of the conjugal role patterns,i.e., the distribution of power between husband and wife, and the impact of parental dominance on the aspirations of the child. Four major modes of decision-making are assessed in the present study: father-dominant; equalitarian; mother-dominant;and neither-dominant. Five areas of decision-making are considered: the general context ("on the whole"); administering punishment; rule-making; vacation planning; and major purchasing. The findings concerning family authority structure are illustrated below in Table 18.

"On the whole, how are the decisions made in your family?"

TABLE 18

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Family Authority Patterns (in 1972)

Status 1974	Father Always	Father More	Both Equal	Mother More	Mother Always	Neither	n:
Students	9.0	12.7	69.7	7.0	1.2	0.2	400
Non-Stud.	16.4	9.7	53.3	17.0	2.4	1.2	165

$p < .001$

The general pattern of authority within the family, as shown in Table 18, is indicative of the mode of decision-making that takes place at the various sub-areas under consideration. According to the data, the modal conjugal role pattern in the families of both categories of respondents is that of "equalitarian", i.e., father and mother equally. We note, however, that in all the instances cited, a considerably greater proportion of potential students than potential non-students acknowledge that an equalitarian conjugal pattern is the case in their families. We further note that in the general case, as well as the sub-areas of decision-making, a consistent pattern of mother-dominance is associated much more with the potential non-students than with the potential students, as is a consistent pattern of neither-dominance. Patterns of father-dominance appear to be inconsistent and inconclusive, i.e., in some areas of decision-making a greater proportion of potential students than non-students indicate father-dominance, while in other areas the opposite pattern is the case. Furthermore, the proportionate differences between our two categories of respondents on this index are relatively small. If we can interpret "neither-dominance" to imply an "individualistic" pattern, i.e., each parent acts individually, then our findings are similar to those of Breton (1972: 183) whose data suggest that "an equalitarian conjugal pattern is associated with high educational aspirations, and an individualistic pattern with low aspirations". Our data also tend to confirm the hypothesis that mother-dominance is associated with low aspirations, while father-dominance appears to be inconclusive vis-a-vis aspirations.

Table 18 represents the general authority profile of the families of our respondents. The patterns illustrated here are consistent with and indicative of the patterns found in all the areas of decision-making under consideration: punishment, rule-making, vacation-planning, and major purchases. While for the majority of both categories of respondents an "equalitarian" conjugal authority pattern is the case in their families, the porportion of potential students (69.7%) well exceeds that of the potential non-students (53.3%). A pattern of "mother-dominance" is far more the case among our potential non-students (19.4%) than among the potential students (8.2%), while similarly, "father-dominance" is more the case in the families of the potential non-students (26.1%) than in those of the potential students (21.7%). However, while the "mother-dominance" pattern remains consistent throughout our other areas of familial decision-making, the "father-dominance" pattern tends to be inconsistent.

Subsequent findings: Secondaire I (1974)

The influence of parental pressure on the educational intentions of children has already been articulated in our review of the literature. Our own findings for 1972 indicate that while the dominant parental reaction to their child's unsatisfactory grades was a positive one, i.e., "serious discussion", nearly twice the proportion of parents of potential non-students as those of potential students tended toward negative-type responses, i.e., "do nothing", "criticize", or "punish" as a reaction pattern to their child's unsatisfactory grades. Furthermore, as for the influence of parents as educational or occupational "role models", our findings for 1972 reveal a similar pattern. While a sizeable majority of both potential students and potential non-students stated they discussed educational and occupational plans with their parents "sometimes", "occasionally", or "often", twice the proportion of potential non-students as potential students declared they "never" discussed such plans with their parents.

At the second time interval (1974) parental pressure is assessed in terms of parental reaction to their child's decision or desire to drop out of school. Tables 19 and 20 illustrate the responses to the question:

> "If you wanted to drop your schooling right now what, in your opinion, would be the attitude of your father and mother?" ... (students)
>
> "How did your mother and father react when you decided to stop studying on a full-time basis?" ... (non-students)

TABLE 19

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Father's Reaction to Drop Out Desire or Decision (in 1974)

Status 1974	Approve	Indifferent	Mild Objection	Strong Objection	Deceased	n:
Students	2.5	4.3	10.2	78.0	5.0	441
Non-Stud.	24.0	19.1	40.4	10.4	6.0	183

$p < .001$

TABLE 20

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Mother's Reaction to Drop Out Desire or Decision (in 1974)

Status 1974	Approve	Indifferent	Mild Objection	Strong Objection	Deceased	n:
Students	1.8	2.3	10.4	84.4	1.1	441
Non-Stud.	26.5	12.9	40.0	17.6	2.9	170

$p < .001$

As illustrated in the above tables (Tables 19-20), 24% of the non-students, compared to only 2.5% of the students, indicate their fathers would or do "approve" of their decision or desire to drop out of school. Similarly, 26.5% of the non-students, compared to just 1.8%

of the students, indicate their mothers would or do "approve" of such a decision. While the dominant parental reaction is seen as disapproval, i.e., "objection" (mild or strong), such reaction is the case far more among the students than among the non-students. Table 19 shows that 88.2% of the students, compared to 50.8% of the non-students, feel their father's reaction would be or is one of mild or strong "objection" to their decision to leave school. In a similar vein, as shown in Table 20, 94.8% of the students, compared to 57.6% of the non-students, feel their mothers would or do "object", mildly or strongly, to such a decision. Interestingly enough, 19.1% of the non-students, compared to 4.3% of the students feel their fathers would be or are "indifferent" to their leaving school, while such is the case for mother's "indifference" among 12.9% of the non-students and 2.3% of the students. Student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

THE SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Our consideration of the school experience, as one of the most important factors determining educational tenure, focuses upon the "climate" of the school as a "generating milieu" for student retention or attrition. As studies by Cervantes (1966), Breton (1972), Elliott and Voss (1974), and many others have shown, what happens to the child at school, how well he performs academically, the kind of relationships he has, his participation in interschool activities, etc., all have considerable relevance for his educational aspirations, expectations, and intentions. Of immediate concern to the present study are such aspects of the school situation as: program of studies, perception of self as student, academic performance, parental pressure, participation in extra-curricular activities, and perceptions of the school milieu. Our investigation of the school stems from the general hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between positive scholastic experiences and the tendency to withdraw from school, i.e., the more positive the experience, the less the desire to discontinue one's education.

Profile of Academic Experience

Of initial interest in the area of academic experience is the educational program in which the respondent is enrolled. At the time of the survey (1972) there were two major types of curriculum available in the high school systems of Quebec: the General Education Program (academic), and the Vocational/Professional Program (non-academic). The manifest function of each program of studies may be described as follows:

The General Program is essentially a college-preparatory curriculum of studies in the traditional matriculation sense, and is intended to be non-terminal. The Vocational/Professional Program, on the other hand, is an occupation-oriented course of studies, designed as a functional alternative to the General Program, and is intended to be terminal -- either at the end of Secondaire IV or V. We shall endeavour at further stages in this study, to ascertain the latent functions of each program of studies as well.

> "The programme of study in which a student is registered should be strongly associated with his educational plans -- at least those for post-secondary. Indeed, his high school studies are an integral part of his total educational programme, and the course he enters in secondary school -- usually in his second, if not his first year -- has far-reaching consequences for his future". (Breton; 1972: 190).

Our findings in this regard are illustrated in Table 21 below:

TABLE 21

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Programme of Studies (in 1972)

Status 1974	General Education (academic)	Vocational/Professional (non-academic)	n:
Students	98.4	1.6	425
Non-Students	93.4	6.6	183

$p <.01$

It is clear from the above table that, at least at the Secondaire I level, virtually all of the respondents are registered in the General Educational Program. This may well be due to the fact that, as a rule, a more definitive decision as to course of studies is not made until the Secondaire III level. Nevertheless, our data do reveal significant student/non-student differences even in the first year of high school. Table 21 shows that 98.4% of the students, compared to 93.4% of the non-students are enrolled in the General Program, while conversely, 6.6% of the non-students, compared to 1.6% of the students are enrolled in the Vocational/Professional Program.

Our next focus of interest in the area of academic experience concentrates on the respondent's self-perception as a student. It was earlier hypothesized that the non-student's self-image, role-expectations, and occupational-orientations are considerably different from those of the student. The data, presented in Table 22, confirm our hypothesis.

TABLE 22

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Self-Rating as a Student (in 1972)

Status 1974	Among Best	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Among Poorest	n:
Students	9.0	25.4	58.4	5.6	1.6	445
Non-Stud.	1.7	8.3	61.7	15.6	12.8	180

$p < .001$

Table 22 illustrates the response distribution to the question: "How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with the other students?" As the table shows, 34.4% of the potential students compared to only 10% of the potential non-students, consider themselves to be "above average" or "among the best", whereas, conversely, 28.4% of the potential non-students compared to only 7.2% of the potential students, consider themselves to be "below average" or "among the poorest". Interestingly enough, the overwhelming majority of both categories of respondents consider themselves to be "average", but here, too, the proportion of potential non-students exceeds that of the potential students. Student/non-student differences hold constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Related to the respondent's self-image as a student, is his or her actual academic performance. Table 23 contains the data in response to the question:

"What were most of your grades or marks this year?"

TABLE 23

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Academic Performance (in 1972)

Status 1974	75%+ (A's-B's)	66-74% (B's-C's)	60-65% (C's-D's)	50-59% (D's-E's)	-50% (E's)	
Students	47.1	33.0	13.6	4.8	1.6	442
Non-Stud.	8.7	32.8	29.5	20.8	8.2	183

$p < .001$

Clearly, the pattern exhibited in terms of self-image is repeated here. Our findings show that twice as many potential students (80%) as potential non-students (41.5%) report their grades to be "A's and B's" (among the best) or "B's and C's" (above average). A similar trend manifests itself throughout the entire table above. As the grade categories decrease, the proportion of potential non-students to potential students increases dramatically! As in the case of self-image as a student, student/non-student differences remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Our next question, "What are your plans concerning future studies when you have started work?", relates to the respondent's future role-expectations. In particular, the question endeavours to ascertain the respondent's anticipation of educational furtherance beyond school. Responses are represented below in Table 24.

TABLE 24

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Plans Concerning Future Studies (in 1972)

Status 1974	Full-Time	Part-Time	No Further	Mind Not Made Up	Not Thought About	n:
Students	4.6	15.5	16.6	20.9	42.5	459
Non-Stud.	3.1	8.7	34.9	16.4	36.9	195

p <. 001

Of immediate note in the above table is the fact that more than twice as many potential non-students (34.9%) as potential students (16.6%) indicate their intention not to pursue any further studies. On the other hand, nearly twice as many potential students (20.1%) as potential non-students (11.8%) indicate their intention to study full or part-time. In the "undecided" categories, 63.4% of the potential students, compared to 53.3% of the potential non-students have either not made up their minds yet, or have not even thought about plans concerning future studies. Student/non-student differences hold irrespective of sex, and are significant for French respondents, but not non-French, and for those whose fathers have an elementary education.

Our final measure of academic experience relates to the respondent's intention to remain in or withdraw from school in terms of parental pressure. Our findings in this regard are illustrated in Table 25.

> "Do you think you would give up your studies soon if your parents did not exert pressure on you to continue?"

TABLE 25

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Parental Pressure to Continue School (in 1972)

Status 1974	Yes	No	n:
Students	14.1	85.9	439
Non-Students	44.8	55.2	181

p <.001

Our findings, as illustrated in Table 25, show that more than three times the proportion of potential non-students (44.8%) to potential students (14.1%) acknowledge they would ("yes") abandon their studies if there were no parental pressure on them to continue. Conversely, 30% more potential students (85.9%) than potential non-students (55.2%) respond "no" to the same question. It is interesting to note that, already at the Secondaire I level, there is such a high propensity among potential non-students toward early school withdrawal.

Related to their own desire to remain in school or to withdraw prematurely, are our respondents' opinions of the "justification" for the dropout decision in general. Table 26 illustrates the extent to which our respondents agree or disagree with the statement: "students who want to leave high school (CEGEP) are often right because that is not where you learn the things you really need to know".

TABLE 26

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Justification of Desire or Decision to Drop Out of School (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	7.5	15.3	39.0	38.1	451
Non-Stud.	17.9	27.4	30.5	24.2	190

p <.001

As can be seen from the data in Table 26, twice as many potential non-students (45.3%) as potential students (22.8%) state they "agree" or "strongly agree" with such a "justification" to drop out, while conversely, 77.1% of the potential students compared to 54.7% of the potential non-students,declare they "disagree" or "strongly disagree" with such a "justification". Student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex and ethnic origin. Differences are significant among those whose fathers are unskilled or semi-skilled workers, and who have only an elementary school education.

The School Context

Our analysis now shifts from the academic experience of our respondents to a consideration of the school context and its effects on their educational intentions. Several aspects of the school context emerge as relevant to the present research: satisfaction with school; participation in extra-curricular activities; and the "climate" of the school. Two dimensions of satisfaction with school are here examined: schedule and classes; and equipment, laboratories and classrooms. Two dimensions of intra-school activities are considered: willingness of participation, and frequency of participation. We ascertain the "climate" of the school as perceived in terms of our respondents' own opinions about the utility of what is stressed in school; unity among the students; and the amount of freedom students have. Our findings on the school context are illustrated in Tables 27-33 as follows:

TABLE 27

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Satisfaction with School: Schedule and Classes (in 1972)

Status 1974	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Not Very Satisfied	Not At All Satisfied	n:
Students	20.8	62.0	13.6	3.6	447
Non-Stud.	16.4	50.8	21.7	11.1	[illegible]

p <.001

Satisfaction with school in terms of schedule and classes is measured in response to the question: "Would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the school (CEGEP) has planned your schedule and your classes?" While, as Table 27 shows, the majority of both categories of respondents indicate they are "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with the way the school planned their schedule and classes, the proportion of potential students (82.8%) well exceeds that of the potential non-students (67.2%). Conversely, nearly twice the proportion of potential non-students (32.8%) to potential students (17.2%) declare they are "not very" or "not at all" satisfied with the way the school planned their classes and schedules. Student/non-student differences are significant among males, but not females; among the French respondents, but not the non-French; among those whose fathers' occupation is skilled, white collar, or professional; and among those whose fathers' level of education is elementary or post-secondary.

TABLE 28

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Satisfaction with School: Labs, Equipment, etc. (in 1972)

Status 1974	Very Well Equipped	Well Equipped	Not Very Well Equipped	Not At All Well Equipped	Don't Know	n:
Students	22.8	40.5	21.0	9.4	6.3	447
Non-Stud.	18.5	33.9	20.6	15.3	11.6	189

$p < .02$

Our second dimension of satisfaction with school relates to physical facilities and services. Table 28 illustrates the responses to the question: "How would you rate your school (CEGEP) in terms of school equipment, laboratories, classrooms, etc.?" As in the case of schedule and classes, the proportion of potential students (63.3%) well exceeds that of the potential non-students (52.4%) in their assessment of their shcool as "well" or "very well" equipped, while on the other hand, 35.9% of the potential non-students, compared to 30.4% of the potential students, rate their school as "not very well" or "not at all well" equipped. It is interesting to note in this regard, that nearly twice as many potential non-students (11.6%) as potential students (6.3%) reply they "do not know" how to rate their school in terms of equipment, laboratories, classrooms, etc. Significant student/non-student differences are found among the males, but not the females; among those whose fathers hold unskilled, semi-skilled, or professional occupations; and among those whose fathers' level of education is elementary. No significant differences are found on the basis of ethnic origin.

Extra-Curricular Activities

The student/non-student dichotomy emerges even more distinctly in relation to participation in extra-curricular activities. While the data clearly do not distinguish between academic and non-academic intra-school activities, they do indicate the respondent's willingness to participate, and the frequency of such participation. Our hypothesis, that the non-student's participation in extra-curricular activities is considerably less than that of the student, is substantiated. Our findings are recorded in Tables 29 and 30.

TABLE 29

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities: Willingness (in 1972)

Status 1974	Always	Usually	Rarely	Never	n:
Students	20.2	60.5	15.7	3.6	446
Non-Stud.	16.8	49.2	24.6	9.4	191

$p < .001$

The data recorded in Table 29 represent the responses to the question: "Are you usually willing to take part in extra-curricular activities (cultural, political, leisure activities, etc.) at your high school (or CEGEP)?" As the table reveals, four-fifths (80.7%) of the potential students, compared to two-thirds (66.0%) of the potential non-students, indicate they are "always" or "usually" willing to take part in extra-curricular activities. By way of contrast, 34.0%

of the potential non-students, compared to 19.3% of the potential students, acknowledge they are "rarely" or "never" willing to participate in such activities. Student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex and ethnic origin. Significant differences are found among those whose fathers are unskilled or semi-skilled workers, and who possess only an elementary school education.

TABLE 30

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities: Frequency (in 1972)

Status 1974	More	About As Much	Less	n:
Students	11.9	70.6	17.5	446
Non-Students	11.6	50.0	38.4	190

p <.001

Frequency of participation in extra-curricular activities is measured in comparative terms as stated in the question: "Would you say you take part in such activities more, about as much, or less than most of the students?" Table 30 shows that while virtually the same proportion of potential students (11.9%) as potential non-students (11.6%) claim they take part "more" than most of the students in extra-curricular activities, over twice as many potential non-students (38.4%) as potential students (17.5%) perceive they take part in such activities "less" than most of the students. As for the "norm", i.e., "about as much" as most of the students, while the majority of both our categories of respondents feel their participation is comparable to that of most of their fellow students, here too, the proportion of potential students (70.6%) well exceeds that of the potential non-students (50.0%). Students/non-students differences hold irrespective of sex and ethnic origin. Significant differences are found among those whose fathers' occupation is unskilled, semi-skilled, or professional; and among those whose fathers' level of education is elementary or secondary school.

Participation in extra-curricular activities clearly distinguishes the non-student from the student. In this respect, Thomas (1955), Coleman (1960,1961), Cervantes (1966), Bell (1967), Breton (1972), and others, have noted that those who participate in school activities, whether as a principal performer or in a relatively minor capacity, do not tend to terminate their education prematurely. As these studies reveal, participation in school activities gives the adolescent a role, an identification, fellowship, recognition, and a sense of belonging. As Cervantes (1966) states so succintly: "their intrapsychic and interpersonal role definition has been established; they feel they belong." Participation in school activities has also been found to reinforce one's academic orientation, and to foster a feeling of kinship with the school and its goals and aims.

Perceptions of the Scholastic Milieu

Our final measure of the school "climate" takes into account the respondent's overall opinion of the school in terms of certain salient characteristics which may have relevance to his or her own scholastic situation. Eight major indices of school "climate" are assessed in the present research, which include: importance of good grades; utility of what is learned; discussions on serious topics; importance of discipline; student interest in learning; career or occupational preparation; student solidarity; and student freedom.

We note here however, that the findings for Secondaire I are generally not statistically significant, except for three indices which show potential student/potential non-student differences at the .05 level of significance. Given the fact that we are, at this juncture, dealing with Grade 7 students, in their first year of high school, it is apparent from the responses that either the questions are not sufficiently appropriate for this cohort, or that the responses are a reflection of the respondents' limited perception of or comprehension of their school's "climate".

The respondents' opinions are recorded in "true" or "false" terms in reply to certain statements made in reference to their school, and the findings are presented in Tables 31-33. Three statements concerning the "climate" of the school elicited responses that significantly distinguish the potential non-students from the potential students:

> "in most classes too much attention is given to things that will be of no use to us later on".

TABLE 31

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of School: Utility of What is Learned (in 1972)

Status 1974	True	False	n:
Students	43.6	56.4	445
Non-Students	56.3	43.8	192

$p < .01$

As illustrated in Table 31, 56.3% of the potential non-students, compared to 43.6% of the potential students concur with the above statement concerning the future utility of what is learned in school. Seen in terms of immediate gratification versus deferred gratification, and taking into account that the respondents in this cohort are just in their first year of high school, we can infer that the potential non-students tend to be less optimistic and less positive than the potential students in their assessment of the utility of what is learned in school.

"there is not much unity among the students"

TABLE 32

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of School: Degree of Student Solidarity (in 1972)

Status 1974	True	False	n:
Students	28.7	71.3	443
Non-Students	37.9	62.1	190

$p < .05$

Student solidarity within the school context may be seen as a measure of social integration, in a manner similar to that of participation in intra-school or extra-curricular activities. The tabulation of results above shows that the majority of both categories of respondents disagree with the statement that "there is not much unity among the students". However, the proportion of potential non-students (71.3%) still exceeds that of the potential non-students (62.1%) by a significant difference. These results are consistent with those obtained in our examination of participation in extra-curricular activities, and indicate a trend in confirmation of our hypothesis that the student, to a greater degree than the non-student, has achieved a meaningful role and status within the social context of the school.

"the students have a lot of freedom at school (or CEGEP) "

TABLE 33

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of School:
Degree of Freedom Experienced (in 1972)

Status 1974	True	False	n:
Students	56.5	43.5	446
Non-Students	46.5	53.5	185

p <.05

While the notion "freedom" at school is not defined in specific terms, we interpret the statement to refer to the overall "atmosphere" in the school, the general rapport, and whether the total experience for the students is "participatory" or "repressive" in nature. The data on this variable, as illustrated in Table 33, indicate that the school experience is, on the whole, a positive one for the majority of both categories of respondents, but once again, it is so to a greater degree among the potential students (56.5%) than among the potential non-students (46.5%).

Subsequent Findings: Secondaire I (1974)

Several variables in the scholastic milieu were found in the initial survey (1972) to be associated significantly with educational intentions: programme of studies, perception of self as student, academic performance, participation in extra-curricular activities, satisfaction with school, perception of school, parental pressure to stay in school, etc. Our subsequent findings (1974) show the continued effects of academic progress and academic performance, as well as perception of school in terms of values, ideas, goals, etc., concerning education.

The scholastic milieu is considered here as an extension of the adolescent's background characteristics. Breton (1972: 187) notes in his discussion of academic experience and educational plans: "In addition to the family background and the personality characteristics of the adolescent, it is reasonable to expect that the school experience and context have some bearing on the student's plans. It is difficult to argue that what happens to him in school, how well he does academically, his relationship with teachers and his particular curriculum -- to mention only a few aspects of school activities and organization -- are without relevance for his education and intentions".

We reiterate our earlier view that the school context consists of two subsystems: the formal (academic/administrative) and the informal (non-academic/social). The former comprises the "official" values of the adult community, while the latter incorporates the values of the youth culture with its own norms and goals. Success in the formal system is defined in terms of academic achievement, while in the informal system, it is defined in terms of social activities.

Academic Performance and Failure

Breton's (1972) study revealed a fairly strong correlation between academic failure and low educational intentions. As the author explains:

> "Failing a subject or a year in school can have an important impact on the career plans of an adolescent. This is so because of the connection that exists between success in high school and admission to a post-secondary school or finding a good job. It is not surprising, then, to find that the students who have experienced failure in the past year have lower educational aspirations than those who have not..."
>
> (Breton, 1972: 195)

The data on academic failure and academic performance (at the 1974 interval), as illustrated in Tables 34 and 35, reveal a clear-cut distinction between the students and non-students in our sample. Table 34 contains the responses to the question: "Did you fail any of your subjects at the end of your last school year?"

TABLE 34

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Academic Failure: One or More Subjects (in 1974)

Status 1974	Yes	No	n:
Students	21.9	78.1	462
Non-Students	67.7	32.3	192

$p <. 001$

The influence of academic success or failure can be readily discerned from the above data. More than two-thirds of the non-students (67.7%), compared to 21.9% of the students, state they had failed at least one subject by the end of the last academic year (1972-73).

Conversely more than three-quarters of the students (78.1%), compared to just under one-third of the non-students (32.3%) indicate they had experienced no failures during the last school year. Significant student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Our hypothesis, that the non-student's self-image, role-expectations, and occupational-orientations are considerably different from those of the student, was confirmed at the 1972 time interval in terms of the respondents' self-rating as students, and in terms of their academic performance. The 1974 data confirm our hypothesis even further. Table 35 illustrates the response to questions pertaining to the range of marks or grades achieved in the last academic year. We have ranked the responses in both quantitative as well as qualitative terms, as follows:

TABLE 35

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Academic Performance (in 1974)

Status 1974	75%⁺ (A's-B's)	70-74% (B's)	65-69% (B's-C's)	60-64% (C's-D's)	50-59% (D's-E's)	-50% (E's)	n:
Students	67.7	23.7	7.2	1.3	0	0	459
Non-Students	7.4	18.5	30.2	14.3	19.6	10.1	189

$p < .001$

Table 35 shows that the vast majority of students (67.7%) indicate their grades were mostly A's and B's, i.e., 75% or higher, which would rank them "among the best", while such is the case for only 7.4% of the non-students. At the other end of the scale, nearly 30% of the non-students, compared to none of the students, indicate their grades were mostly D's and E's, i.e., less than 50% which would rank them as "below average" or "among the poorest". An interesting pattern, noted earlier in the study, continues even further at the 1974 interval: in every grade category above 70%, the proportion of students well exceeds that of the non-students, while in every grade category below 70%, the exact converse is the case. The effects of academic performance tend to remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Values and Ideas Concerning School and Education

It was seen earlier in this study, that related to the adolescent's desire to remain in or withdraw from school, was his or her agreement with or "justification" of the desire on the part of others to drop out of school. Our earlier findings were substantiated even further by the results of the 1974 interview. Table 36 contains the data gleaned in response to the statement:

> "those who want to leave school are often justified (have the right idea), because that is not where one learns what is really important (the really important things)".

TABLE 36

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Justification of Desire or Decision to Drop Out of School (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	5.7	15.0	42.7	36.6	459
Non-Students	18.7	32.6	33.2	15.5	193

p <.001

The table 36 illustrates the extent to which our respondents concur with the foregoing statement, which serves as an indication of their own assessment and evaluation of educational retention or withdrawal, as well as an indication of their own intentions in this regard. More than half of the non-students (51.3%), compared to one-fifth of the students (20.7%), state they "agree" or "strongly agree" with such a "justification" for leaving school. Conversely, close to 80% of the students state they "disagree" or "strongly disagree" with the above statement, while such is the case for less than half the non-students (48.7%). Student/non-student differences remain constant, controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Goals of the School

A further dimension of the respondents' values and ideas concerning school and education is their assessment of ideal goals for an educational institution at the high school level. Possible goals include: career preparation; creation of a favourable environment; development of values and patterns of behaviour; basic knowledge of community, national, and world affairs; intellectual maturity of the student; meeting the requirements of the job market; and preparation for future position of authority. The degree of importance the respondents feel should be ideally given to each of these goals by the school is intended to serve as an indication of their own evaluation of the school and education. It is thus, somewhat of a surprise to discover that, despite the wide variety of possible goals, significant student/non-student differences are obtained on only two indices of ideal goals: intellectual maturity and development of sense of judgment; and meeting the requirements of the job market. We can only surmise, therefore, that either the "wrong" set of goals is presented in the questionnaires, or that given the fact that the respondents at this juncture are only at the Grade 9 level

(Secondaire III), the goals presented for their consideration are beyond their competence to assess adequately and effectively. Tables 37 and 38 illustrate the extent to which the respondents feel the following goals should ideally be considered important for the school:

> "to help the student mature intellectually and develop a sense of judgment".
>
> "to meet the requirements of the labour market".

TABLE 37

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perceived Goals of the School: Develop Intellect and Sense of Judgment (in 1974)

Status 1974	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Particularly Important	Not At All Important	n:
Students	54.6	39.6	5.1	0.7	452
Non-Stud.	46.3	42.0	10.6	1.1	188

$p < .05$

While, as Table 37 shows, the vast majority of both categories of respondents feel that ideally the school's goal of helping the student mature intellectually and develop a sense of judgment is "very" or "fairly" important, the proportion of students (94.2%) exceeds that of the non-students (88.3%). On the other hand, twice the proportion of non-students (11.7%) as students (5.8%) feel such a goal for an educational institution is "not particularly" or "not at all" important. Student/non-student differences are significant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's occupation.

TABLE 38

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perceived Goals of the School: Meet Labour Market Requirements (in 1974)

Status 1974	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Particularly Important	Not At All Important	n:
Students	23.8	49.0	20.9	6.2	449
Non-Stud.	28.7	55.9	11.7	3.7	188

p <.02

While here, too, the vast majority of both students and non-students feel the school goal of meeting the requierements of the labour market is "very" or "fairly important", it is of interest to note, however, that the proportion of non-students (84.6%) well exceeds that of the students (72.8%). Conversely, close to twice the proportion of students (27.1%) as non-students (15.4%) such a goal is "not particularly" or "not at all" important. The data presented in both tables 37 and 38 indicate that already at this point in their scholastic careers, the students tend to be academic-oriented in the direction of continued education, and see as a goal of the school the development of capacities toward such an end. By way of contrast, the non-students appear to be work-oriented, more immediately concerned with employment, and see as a goal of the school the preparation to meet the job-market requirements. These results are indeed consistent with our earlier findings concerning the differentials in levels of educational and occupational aspirations between the students and non-students in our sample. Student/non-student differences hold constant while controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

PEER ASSOCIATIONS

THE ADOLESCENT PEER GROUP

Adolescence is often seen as a time when the young person seeks to break away from parental control, and turns instead to peers in search of social definitions, values, appropriate standards of behavior, etc. The peer group constitutes, among other things, the "reference figures" in the adolescent's world, i.e., his "significant others", and also functions as his "reference group". Nevertheless, as the literature on adolescence reveals, young people differ in the extent to which they are committed to peers and parents. One of the aims of the present research, therefore, is to ascertain whether there is a difference in the structure and orientations of the student's and non-student's peer associations which can account for the variation in choices of educational tenure.

Mead's (1934) notion of "the significant other", and the role of such "reference figures" in the formulation and development of the individual's self-concept and self-identity, are well-documented in the literature. The Meadian perspective, which forms the conceptual framework for our analysis of the influence of meaningful others on the adolescent's educational orientation, is articulated by Breton (1972: 317), as follows:

> "the individual's concepts of self and identity are largely influenced and determined by the ways in which others perceive and define him. To have an effect on his identity, these definitions by others must in some way be communicated to and perceived by him; furthermore, the magnitude of the influence on self-identity will depend on the character of the relationship between the individual and the significant others".

In their book, Delinquency and Dropout, Elliott and Voss (1974: 34), in an extension of Sutherland's "differential association" theory, utilize the notion of "exposure to dropout" as a necessary variable in the causal chain leading to a student's decision to withdraw from school:

> "In the home or community a low value may be placed on education. In the community a student may associate with youth who have dropped out of school, and he may have parents or siblings who failed to complete high school. These contacts provide the potential dropout with the opportunity to observe the consequences, both positive and negative, of leaving school and to assess whether dropping out of school will resolve his problems. Further, they may provide some group support -- perhaps even group pressure -- for this action".

In the present study, the major "reference figures" identified as important influences (values, behavior, aspirations, etc.) in the lives of our respondents are parents, siblings, and close friends. We have earlier in this analysis considered the impact of parental pressure and influence on the educational intentions of their children. We shall in this segment direct our attention to peer influences, specifically those of close friends and siblings as "significant others".

Our examination focuses on the educational orientations of the respondents' close friends and brothers or sisters in order to ascertain whether their educational profile functions as a model for the respondents' own educational intentions. Tables 39-41 illustrate the data gleaned from responses to the question:

> "Among your best friends is there anyone who:
> a) plans to leave high school before finishing...
> b) left high school before finishing...
> c) does not plan to continue beyond high school..."

TABLE 39

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Plan to Leave High School (in 1972)

Status 1974	Yes	No	n:
Students	21.5	78.5	396
Non-Students	49.4	50.6	156

$p < .001$

As the above table shows, close to half the number of potential non-students (49.4%), compared to just over one-fifth of the potential students (21.5%), acknowledge that among their close friends there are those whose current orientation is in the direction of dropout. Conversely, close to four out of five potential students (78.5%), state that there is no one among their close friends who is currently contemplating such a move. Student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's occupation.

TABLE 40

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Have Already Left High School (in 1972)

Status 1974	Yes	No	n:
Students	17.3	82.7	371
Non-Students	50.7	49.3	150

$p < .001$

A similar response pattern emerges in terms of our respondents' close friends who have already left high school. Table 40 demonstrates that just over half of the potential non-students (50.7%), compared to only 17.3% of the potential students, have among their peer associates best friends who have already withdrawn from school prior to successful completion. Conversely, over four-fifths of the potential students (82.7%) indicate that among their best friends there is no one who has left school before finishing. Student/non-student differences hold irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's occupation.

TABLE 41

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Do Not Plan To Continue Beyond High School (in 1972)

Status 1974	Yes	No	n:
Students	39.6	60.4	407
Non-Students	57.0	43.0	151

$p < .001$

As for the future educational intentions of their close friends, our data (Table 41) reveal that 57.0% of the potential non-students declare that they have close friends who do not plan to continue their studies beyond high school, whereas among the potential students, 39.6% acknowledge that such is the case. By way of contrast, 60.4% of the potential students, compared to 43.0% of the non-students respond that among their close friends there is no one who intends to discontinue his studies after high school. Student/non-student differences are maintained controlling for sex, father's occupation, and father's education, and are significant for French respondents but not for non-French.

Similar questions to those concerning close friends were posed in order to assess the influence of older brothers or sisters as educational role models. We endeavour here to distinguish the social contexts, favourable or unfavourable, in which orientations to educational pursuit arise. We define as "favourable" those contexts in which older brothers and sisters plan to finish school; have already done so; or are presently at or have been to university. Conversely, we define as "unfavourable" those contexts in which older brothers and sisters plan to leave school before finishing, or have already done so. It is our hypothesis that the potential non-students will generally tend to be exposed to contexts that are unfavourable to educational pursuit. Tables 42-43 below illustrate the responses to the question:

> "Do you have brothers or sisters who:
> a) plan to leave before finishing CEGEP to go to work...
> b) have already left to go to work before finishing CEGEP..."

TABLE 42

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Peer Associations: Brothers or Sisters Plan to Withdraw from CEGEP (in 1972)

Status 1974	Yes	No	n:
Students	21.2	78.7	400
Non-Students	37.7	62.3	151

p <.001

Table 42 shows that close to twice as many potential non-students (37.7%) as potential students (21.2%) indicate they have brothers or sisters who are planning to leave school before finishing, while conversely, nearly four-fifths of the potential students (78.7%), compared to just over three-fifths of the potential non-students (52.3%), declare they have no brothers or sisters who are contemplating such a move. Student/non-student differences remain constant, controlling for sex and ethnic origin, and are significant for those whose fathers have only an elementary education.

TABLE 43

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Peer Associations: Brothers or Sisters Have Already Withdrawn From CEGEP (in 1972)

Status 1974	Yes	No	n:
Students	24.5	75.5	379
Non-Students	54.4	45.6	158

$p < .001$

In terms of brothers or sisters who have actually left school without finishing, the potential student/non-student differences are even greater than those already observed. As Table 43 shows, more than twice the proportion of potential non-students (54.4%) to potential students (24.5%) have brothers or sisters who have already terminated school prematurely. Conversely, more than three-quarters of the potential students (75.5%), compared to less than half the potential non-students (45.6%), state they have no brothers and sisters who have already left school before finishing. Student/non-student differences hold irrespective of sex and ethnic origin, and are significant for those whose fathers' levels of education are elementary or secondary.

Two additional questions relating to older siblings presently at or already been to university are apparently not applicable to the respondents in Secondaire I. In both instances, some 90% of potential students and non-students declare they have no brothers or sisters in those levels of education.

SELF-PERCEPTION AND LIFE-ORIENTATION

PERCEPTION OF SELF AND ORIENTATION TOWARD LIFE

Earlier in the course of this study, we stated the hypothesis that the non-student's self-image, role expectations, and educational/occupational orientations were considerably different from those of the student. A number of studies, most notably those of Elder (1963, 1965), and Rosenberg (1965), lend credence to our own findings in this regard. Elder (1965: 81) notes, for example, that parental dominance over the family's decisions acts as a depressor of aspirations and achievement, and as a detriment to the development of "the personal qualities and skills that enable children to meet standards of excellence -- self-reliance, competent judgment, problem-solving ability, and a questioning mind". Likewise, there is a substantial body of literature to support the position that the home and the family may facilitate or impede the adolescent's feelings of acceptance and personal worth. Rosenberg (1965) found that children from broken homes and from homes with punitive parents, tended to have lower self-esteem than those from intact homes, and from homes with supportive parents. Furthermore, self-esteem was found to be lowest among the children of parents who were indifferent. We thus proceed to an analysis of our own data on the premise that not only does one's self-image or self-perception influence one's behaviour, but specifically, in the present instance, one's educational and occupational orientations as well.

Perception of Self

In his discussion of problems in the formulation of a career goal, Breton (1972: 25) states "...that in making a vocational decision an individual tries to match his personality characteristics with those of the occupational environment. The process entails testing conceptions of self and of self-in-environment against various features of that environment... The individual's concentual self-system includes his assessment of his own abilities, interests, and general attitudinal approaches to self (for example, self-esteem) and to life (independence)..."

Four dimensions of self-perception were assessed in the present study: self-satisfaction; self-confidence; self-esteem; and personal-efficacy. Our findings, illustrated in Tables 44-47, clearly distinguish the non-student from the student in terms of self-perception. The results show that significantly greater proportions of potential non-students than potential students expressed dissatisfaction with self; felt lack of confidence in self; considered self not as good as anyone else; and were doubtful of their chances of success in life.

Table 44 below contains the responses to the statement:

"on the whole I am satisfied with myself".

TABLE 44

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of Self:
Satisfaction with Self (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	17.1	70.1	12.3	0.4	455
Non-Students	20.2	57.5	21.8	0.5	193

$p < .01$

While the vast majority of both categories of respondents "agree" or "strongly agree" with the above statement, the proportion of potential students (87.2%) well exceeds that of the potential non-students (77.7%). Conversely, however, close to twice the proportion of potential non-students (22.3%) as potential students (12.7%) indicate dissatisfaction with self.

Table 45 illustrates the responses to the statement: "I usually do not have enough confidence in myself".

TABLE 45

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of Self: Confidence in Self (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	6.6	39.1	44.8	9.5	453
Non-Stud.	10.8	49.5	33.0	6.7	194

$p < .01$

The above table clearly distinguishes the potential non-student from the potential student in terms of confidence in self. As can be readily discerned, 25% more of the potential non-students (60.3%) than the potential students (45.7%) "agree" or "strongly agree" that they usually do not have sufficient self-confidence. On the other hand, more than half of the potential students (54.3%), compared to just under 40% of the potential non-students, indicate they do indeed have confidence in themselves.

The measure of self-worth was ascertained in response to the statement: "I recognize I am as good as anyone else". Results are illustrated in Table 46, below.

TABLE 46

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of Self: Self-Worth, Self-Esteem (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	19.2	58.4	19.2	3.3	454
Non-Stud.	17.8	41.4	31.4	9.4	191

$p <. 001$

More than three-quarters of the potential students (77.6%), compared to just under 60% of the potential students, feel they are as good as anyone else. Conversely, almost double the proportion of potential non-students (40.8%) to potential students (22.5%), indicate they feel they are not as good as anyone else.

Personal efficacy was assessed in terms of the statement: "I often doubt my chances of getting ahead in the world". Table 47 illustrates the findings, as follows:

TABLE 47

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of Self: Personal Efficacy (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	8.5	36.5	40.5	14.5	449
Non-Stud.	10.5	52.4	31.4	5.8	191

$p < .001$

While close to two-thirds of the potential non-students (62.9%) indicate they often doubt their chances of success in life, such is the case for fewer than half of the potential students (45.0%). More than half the potential students (55.5%), on the other hand, have no such doubts about their life chances, compared to a little over one-third (37.2%) of the potential non-students.

Orientations to Life

Of further relevance in this segment are the adolescent's attitudes and orientations to life, especially those relating to education and occupation, the dimensions of which are manifested in the structure of his past and present experiences, as well as in his relationship to the future. In this regard, Breton (1972) has observed:

> "Career development is a complex process. It involves both subjective issues related to ourselves as individuals--such as the crystallization of identity -- as well as the objective dimensions inherent in the surrounding socio-economic environment. ...the individual's orientations to education, career and life generally, as well as the practical plans and actions he takes -- or does not take -- to realize his life chances, are both a product of, and depend upon, the

> way in which he integrates -- or fails to integrate -- these subjective factors and objective circumstances".
>
> (Breton, 1972: 23)

The underlying premise for our concern with the adolescent's attitudinal approaches to self and life, is articulated in LE PROJET DE RECHERCHE A.S.O.P.E. VOL. 1 -- LES ETUDIANTS, in the assumption that there is a relationship between one's ideals (aspirations and intentions) and the manner in which one conceives the actual (the empirical world). One's conception of the temporal world is therefore postulated as an important variable in consideration of the plans he formulates and in the aspirations he entertains. Since not all individuals have the same perception of the temporal world, and do not accord the same importance to the various moments in their life experiences, there emerge three distinct orientation profiles: present-oriented (immediate gratification); past-oriented (vicarious gratification); and future-oriented (deferred gratification). As in the case of perception of self, the data, as presented in Tables 48-53, clearly distinguish the potential non-student from the potential student.

Present-Oriented

Orientation to the present was assessed in terms of two indices: concern over and importance of the present; and enjoyment of the present above all else. Tables 48 and 49, respectively, contain the responses to the following statements:

> "time passes so quickly that it is best not to be too concerned about the present".
>
> "it is best to enjoy the present without bothering too much about anything else".

TABLE 48

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Importance of the Present (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	5.1	14.9	51.8	28.2	450
Non-Students	13.0	30.1	35.8	21.2	193

$p < .001$

TABLE 49

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Enjoyment of the Present (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	10.4	36.3	41.6	11.7	454
Non-Students	23.6	38.2	29.8	8.4	191

$p < .001$

While the majority of both categories of respondents disagree or strongly disagree with the proposition that it is best not to accord too much importance to the present, the proportion of potential students (80.0%) far exceeds the potential non-students (57.0%) in this regard.

On the other hand, more than twice the proportion of potential non-students (43.0%) to potential students (20.0%) express the opinion that it is best not to be too concerned about the present. Likewise, with reference to enjoyment of the present, clear-cut differences are revealed between our two categories of respondents. The majority of potential non-students (61.8%), compared to 46.7% of the potential students, agree or strongly agree with the proposition that it _is_ best to enjoy the present without bothering too much about anything else, while more than half the potential students (53.3%), compared to 38.2% of the potential non-students, feel that it is _not_ best to enjoy the present without concern for anything else.

Past-Oriented

Orientation to the past was measured in terms of the notions of idealization of the past; and valorization of the past; as contained in the following two propositions:

> "life may have been harder in the past, but it allowed the individual to develop his potentialities better".
>
> "the ideas and ways of life of the past are still of value today".

TABLE 50

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Idealization of the Past (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	16.7	54.3	25.1	4.0	455
Non-Stud.	28.5	52.8	16.1	2.6	193

$p < .01$

As Table 50 reveals, the vast majority of both categories of respondents maintain the proposition that "life may have been harder in the past, but it allowed the individual to develop his potentialities better". Once again, however, the proportion of potential non-students (81.3%) who subscribe to the proposition well exceeds that of the potential students (71.0%). Conversely, 29.1% of the potential students, compared to 18.7% of the potential non-students, disagree or strongly disagree with the proposition of idealization of the past. As for valorization of the past, our findings on this variable do not significantly distinguish between the two categories of respondents. The trend, however, is nevertheless in the direction of our hypothesis that the self-image of the non-student, as well as his role expectations, and educational/occupational orientations, will differ from that of the student.

Future-Oriented

Orientations toward the future were measured in terms of concern over the future; and the future as the main consideration in one's life organization; as contained in the following two propositions:

> "Why worry about the future, things always work out in the end".
>
> "the future should be the main consideration in the way you run your life".

TABLE 51

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: No Concern about the Future (in 1972)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	9.7	24.0	38.7	27.7	455
Non-Students	27.5	31.6	25.4	15.5	193

$p < .001$

The data illustrated in Table 51 show a clear distinction between our two categories of respondents on the index of future-orientation. The majority of potential non-students (59.1%), compared to one-third of the potential students (33.7%), agree or strongly agree with the proposition "why worry about the future, things always work out in the end", while conversely, two-thirds of the potential students (66.4%), compared to 40.9% of the potential non-students, do not support such a proposition. As for the future as the main consideration in one's life organization, the data on this index do not significantly distinguish between our two categories of respondents, although the results do run in the direction of our general hypothesis.

Subsequent Findings: Secondaire I (1974)

The differential profiles of our respondents that emerged in 1972 in terms of self-perception and orientation to life, assume an even greater clarity in the 1974 analysis. Our findings for the second time interval show the continued strong effects of self-perception and life-orientation on the educational intentions of our adolescent respondents.

As in the earlier instance, significant student/non-student differences were obtained for virtually every criteria of assessment measured, confirming even further our 1972 findings that greater proportions of non-students than students lacked self-esteem; were doubtful of their chances for success in life; and were more oriented to the present and to the past rather than to the future. The results of the 1974 analysis are illustrated, below, in Tables 52 and 53, and in Tables 54 to 58.

Perception of Self

As in the case of the 1972 interview, the same dimensions of self-perception were assessed; self-satisfaction; self-confidence; self-esteem; and personal efficacy. While significant student/non-student differences were not found on the first two indices (self-satisfaction and self-confidence), highly significant differences were indeed evident in the cases of the latter two indices (self-esteem and personal efficacy), strongly supporting our general hypothesis that the non-student's self-image, role expectations, and educational/occupational orientations were different from those of the student.

Table 52 deals with the measure of self-worth, and illustrates responses to the statement: "I recognize I am as good as anyone else".

TABLE 52

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of Self: Self-Worth, Self-Esteem (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	24.8	60.3	12.2	2.6	459
Non-Students	28.9	42.1	23.7	5.3	190

$p <.001$

While the great majority of both categories of respondents consider themselves as good as anyone else, the proportion of students (85.1%) well exceeds that of the non-students (71.0%). On the other hand, as in the 1972 case, twice the proportion of non-students (29.0%) to non-students (14.8%) feel they are not as good as anyone else.

Table 53 refers to the dimension of personal efficacy which was measured in terms of the responses to the following statement: "I often doubt my chances of getting ahead in the world".

TABLE 53

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Perception of Self: Personal Efficacy (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	9.6	30.9	43.3	16.2	457
Non-Students	13.7	43.7	32.1	10.5	190

$p <. 01$

More than half of the non-students (85.7%) acknowledge they often doubt their chances of success in life, while such is the case for just over 40% of the students. Conversely, nearly 60% of the students, compared to 42.6% of the non-students, indicate they do not often doubt their chances of worldly success.

Orientation to Life

In the 1972 analysis, a relationship was postulated between one's ideals (aspirations and intentions) and the manner in which he or she conceived the actual (the empirical world). One's conception of the temporal world was therefore seen as an important variable in the consideration of the plans one formulates and the aspirations one entertains. It was found that, since not all individuals had the same perception of the temporal world, and did not accord the same importance to the various moments in their lives, there emerged three distinct orientation profiles: present-oriented (immediate gratification); past-oriented (vicarious gratification); and future-oriented (deferred gratification). Our findings for 1974 are consistent with those observed in 1972, and distinguish significantly the non-student from the student in terms of life-orientations. Results are illustrated below in Tables 54 to 58.

Present-Oriented

As in the earlier analysis, orientation to the present is assessed in terms of two indices: concern over and importance of the present; and enjoyment of the present above all else. Tables 54 and 55 respectively, contain the responses to the following statements:

> "time passes so quickly that it is best not to be too concerned about the present".
>
> "it is best to enjoy the present without bothering too much about anything else".

TABLE 54

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Importance of the Present (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	6.3	15.2	46.5	32.0	460
Non-Stud.	13.1	24.6	42.4	19.9	191

$p < .001$

TABLE 55

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Enjoyment of the Present (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	9.0	33.6	42.6	14.8	458
Non-Stud.	23.7	41.1	32.1	3.2	190

$p < .001$

The data illustrated above are consistent with those found in the 1972 analysis. While the majority of our respondents disagree or strongly disagree with the proposition that it is best not to accord too much importance to the present, the proportion of students (78.5%) considerably exceeds that of the non-students (62.3%). Conversely, nearly twice the proportion of non-students (37.7%) to students (21.5%) agree or strongly agree with the proposition that it is best not to be too concerned about the present. Similarly, as for enjoyment of the present, clear student/non-student differences emerge. Nearly two-thirds of the non-students (64.8%) compared to 42.6% of the students, agree or strongly agree with the proposition that it is best to enjoy the present without bothering too much about anything else. On the other hand, more than half the students (57.4%), compared to just over one-third of the non-students (35.3%), indicate that it is not best to enjoy the present without concern for anything else.

Past-Oriented

The notions of idealization of the past, and valorization of the past, utilized earlier in our analysis, again serve as indicators of orientation to the past on the part of our adolescent respondents. Table 56 represents the findings in response to the statement:

> "Life may have been harder in the past, but it allowed the individual to develop his potentialities better".

TABLE 56

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Idealization of the Past (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	17.1	47.9	27.9	7.0	455
Non-Stud.	28.3	54.0	14.4	3.2	187

$p < .001$

As in the earlier assessment of orientation to the past, the majority of both categories of respondents agree or strongly agree with the proposition: "life may have been harder in the past, but it allowed the individual to develop his potentialities better". In the present instance, however, more than four-fifths of the non-students (82.3%), compared to under two-thirds of the students (65.0%) subscribe to the proposition. Conversely, more than one-third of the students (34.9%), compared to less than one-fifth of the non-students (17.6%) disagree or strongly disagree with the statement of idealization of the past. As for valorization of the past, once again, the data do not significantly distinguish the non-student from the student on this criteria, although it is interesting to note that a greater proportion of non-students to students subscribe to the proposition on valorization of the past.

Future-Oriented

Orientations to the future are again measured in terms of concern over the future; and the future as the main consideration in one's life organization. The data, as presented in Tables 57 and 58, clearly distinguish the non-student from the student with reference to their responses to the following two propositions:

> "Why worry about the future, things always work out in the end".
>
> "The future should be the main consideration in the way you run your life".

TABLE 57

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientations to Life: No Concern about the Future (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	6.5	22.2	41.0	30.3	459
Non-Stud.	21.1	41.6	26.3	11.1	190

$p < .001$

TABLE 58

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Future the Main Concern (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	30.7	57.5	10.9	0.9	459
Non-Stud.	41.0	44.7	9.0	4.3	188

$p < .01$

As Table 57 reveals, the majority of non-students (62.7%) concur with the proposition: "Why worry about the future, things always work out in the end", while such is the case for just over one-quarter of the students (28.7%). On the other hand, an even greater majority of students (71.3%) indicate concern for the future, and disagree or strongly disagree with the proposition, compared to just over one-third of the non-students (37.4%) who feel similarly. As for the future as the main consideration in one's life organization, the data in Table 58 indicate, as was the case in 1972, that the overwhelming majority of respondents are in agreement with the proposition that the future should be the main consideration in the way they ran their lives, with the proportion of students (88.2%) slightly exceeding that of the non-students (86.7%). It is interesting to note here, that in terms of simple agreement with the proposition, more than half the students (57.5%), compared to 44.7% of the non-students, consider the future ought to be the main concern in one's life organization. Conversely, while relatively small propositions of both categories of respondents strongly disagree with the proposition, five times the proportion of non-students (4.3%) as students (0.9%) indicate such a response.

RESUME

RESUME

By way of summary and conclusion, we now present a comprehensive résumé of the substantive findings for Secondaire I at both the initial (1972) and subsequent (1974) survey intervals. We note here with interest that certain dimensions of our major independent variables that were found to be highly significant in 1972 continue to be so in 1974, and thus serve as "predictors" of future outcomes. As a matter of convenience, therefore, the results of our analysis are summarized according to each respective independent variable in the following manner:

Aspirations

Breton (1972: 128) concluded that : 'An adolescent's intentions for his education are part of a configuration of attitudes and self-evaluations, and of self in relation to the future'. In this regard, the data in the present study reveal some of the dimensions of the relationships in this configuration, which emerge as follows:

> 1) There is a highly significant difference in level of educational aspiration between the potential students and potential non-students, both at the ideal and actual levels of educational aspiration. The overwhelming majority of the former indicate their intentions to attain post-secondary or university-levels of education, while conversely, the greatest proportions of the latter aspire to finish high school and go to work, or leave high school before finishing to go to work or private school (business or trade).
>
> 2) Occupational preferences and educational intentions are here regarded as indicators of the same phenomenon -- the level of aspiration. Our findings show significant differences among the respondents' occupational preferences in terms of type of occupation and prestige. Significantly higher proportions of

potential students than potential non-students indicate a preference for the more prestigious professional and semi-professional types of occupation, while conversely, a significantly higher proportion of potential non-students than potential students show a preference for skilled or semi-skilled jobs. This pattern of occupational choice remains fairly consistent at both the ideal and actual levels of aspiration.

3) The highly significant potential student/potential non-student differences in level of educational aspirations and expectations found in 1972 are further substantiated by the 1974 results. The greatest proportion of students desire and expect to attain collegial or university education, while conversely, the greatest proportion of non-students aspire to attain just a high school education. Well over one-third of the non-students express a desire and expectation to leave their studies before finishing high school. The effects of educational aspiration remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

4) Several additional dimensions of educational aspiration were found in 1974 to be associated with our respondents' scholastic orientations. Significant student/non-student differences were found in terms of: continued education desired; minimum education for society; and importance of education in employment practices.

Family of Orientation

We have here investigated several dimensions of "family culture" as they relate to and influence the adolescent's educational intentions. Our analysis has involved an examination of the background, structure, and organization of the family of orientation in order to ascertain in what important ways the families of students differ from those of non-students. We have focused our attention of such internal family characteristics as parental educational attainment, father's occupation, familial interaction patterns, familial authority structure, parental pressure, intra-familial communication, size of family, and community of orientation. Our major findings are as follows:

1) Level of parental educational attainment is positively associated with the educational aspirations of their children. The effects of parental education tend to remain constant when controlling for sex and ethnic origin.

2) Father's occupational status is positively associated with the educational aspirations of the child. The effects of father's occupational status remain constant when controlling for ethnic origin and father's education, and are significant among males, but not females.

3) Our data confirm that size of family is negatively associated with educational aspirations. The effects of family size remain constant, controlling for sex and ethnic origin, and are stronger for those whose fathers are "ouvriers" or professionals, and for those whose fathers have only an elementary school education.

4) Community of orientation was found to be positively associated with educational aspirations. The larger the community of orientation, the higher the level of the child's educational aspirations. Effects of size of community remain constant when controlling for sex, father's occupation, and father's education, and are significant among French respondents, but not among the non-French.

5) Frequency of communication within the home is positively associated with educational intentions. Effects remain constant when controlling for sex, and are significant for French respondents, but not non-French; for children whose fathers are "ouvriers" and whose level of educational attainment is elementary school.

6) An equalitarian conjugal role pattern (as manifested in the familial decision-making process) is positively associated with high educational intentions, whereas an individualistic conjugal role pattern, particularly mother-dominance, is associated with low educational aspirations. Effects remain constant when controlling for sex, and are more significant for French respondents than for non-French.

7) Parental level of education and father's occupational status were found in 1972 to be strongly associated with the educational aspirations of their children. An additional measure of the influence of social class, father's income level, was found in 1974 to be positively associated with the scholastic orientations of the

child. Twice the proportion of non-students as students assess their father's income bracket as "low" or "low-middle". Conversely, more than three times the proportion of students as non-students place their father's in the "middle" or "high" income brackets. The effects of father's income tend to remain constant irrespective of sex and ethnic origin.

8) Perception of parental social class, and the respondent's own future social class expectations were found to be positively associated with adolescent educational intentions. Close to one out of three non-students, compared to one out of five students, expect to find themselves at the lower end of the socio-economic scale later on in their lives.

9) Our data show that parental pressure is very strongly associated with educational intentions of the adolescent. More than four out of five students, compared to just 50% of the non-students, indicate their parents do or would "object" (strongly or mildly) to a decision on their part to drop out of school. Conversely, one-quarter of the non-students, compared to less than 3% of the students, state their parents do or would "approve" of such a move. Also, approximately five times the proportion of non-students to students indicate their parents are or would be "indifferent" about such a decision. Effects of parental pressure remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

* For the purposes of clarification, the term "ouvriers" as used herein, refers to a composite occupational category comprised of skilled workers (carpenters, electricians, mechanics, etc.), semi-skilled workers (factory machine operators, truck drivers, etc.), and labourers (factory workers, filling station attendants, long-shoremen, etc.).

The School Experience

We have in this segment examined the scholastic milieu and its impact on the educational intentions of our adolescent respondents. For the sake of convenience, we have made a distinction between academic experience and the school context, and have presented them in analytically separable terms. Several dimensions of the scholastic milieu emerged as particularly relevant to our research: program of studies; self-image as student; academic performance; satisfaction with school; participation in extra-curricular activities; and perceptions of the school "climate". Our major findings are as follows:

1) The program of studies in which the respondent is enrolled is strongly associated with educational intentions. Even though, at the Secondaire I level, the overwhelming majority of respondents are enrolled in the General Program (academic-oriented), our data indicate that significant differences between the potential students and potential non-students are already apparent in the first year of high school.

2) Self-image as a student is strongly associated with educational intention. The effects of self-image remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

3) As expected, academic performance is also strongly associated with educational intention. The effects of academic performance are maintained while controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

4) Future role-expectations, as manifested in one's anticipation of educational furtherance beyond school, are positively associated with educational intentions, and clearly distinguish the potential non-student from the potential student.

5) Parental pressure is strongly associated with the adolescent's decision to remain in or withdraw from school. Our data show that more than three times the proportion of potential non-students as potential students acknowledge they would give up their studies were it not for parental pressure on them to continue. The effects of parental pressure are maintained when sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education are controlled.

6) in terms of satisfaction with school, there is a discernable distinction between our two categories of respondents on the measures of satisfaction assessed: schedule and classes; and physical facilities and services. The effects of satisfaction with school are much stronger

for the potential students than for the potential non-students; and stronger for males than females.

7) Participation in extra-curricular activities is strongly associated with educational intention, and clearly distinguishes the potential non-student from the potential student. The effects of extra-curricular participation are maintained when controlling for sex and ethnic origin.

8) The school "climate" is positively associated with educational intention. The potential student, to a greater extent than the potential non-student, seems to be more optimistic in his/her perception of the future utility of what is learned in school; has a more integrated and meaningful role and status within the social context of the school; and has, on the whole, experienced a favourable atmosphere and rapport in his/her school.

9) Our general hypothesis, that the non-student's self-image, role-expectations, and educational/occupational orientations are considerably different from those of the non-student, was confirmed in our analysis of the 1972 data. The findings in 1974 confirm that hypothesis even further in terms of academic performance; academic failure; values and ideas on school and education; and the adolescent's assessment of the goals of the school.

10) Academic performance was found to be strongly associated with educational intentions and orientations. Our data show that over 90% of the students have grades in the A's and B's range, i.e., 70% or higher, which would rank them as "among the best" or "above average". Such is the case for only 25.9% of the non-students. Significant student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

11) Academic failure is strongly associated with educational attrition and orientations toward withdrawal. Our data show that over two-thirds of the non-students have experienced failure in one or more subjects during their last academic year, compared to just over 20% of the students. The effects of academic failure remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation and father's education.

12) Values and ideas on school and education were found to be strongly associated with educational retention or

attrition. More than half of the non-students, compared to only one-fifth of the students, "justified" the desire or decision to drop out of school on the grounds that school is not where one learns the things that are really important. Student/non-student differences remain significant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

13) Perception of the school's goals was found to be associated with adolescent educational intentions and orientations. Our data indicate that students tend to be academic-oriented in the direction of further education, and tend to see the goal of the school as the development of capacities toward such an end. By way of contrast, the non-students appear to be work-oriented, more immediately concerned with employment, and see the goal of the school as preparation to meet the requirements of the job-market. Student/non-student differences remain constant while controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Peer Associations

Our aim in this segment was to assess the importance of "significant others" as influences in the decisions of our respondents relating to scholastic pursuit, as well as to ascertain whether there was a difference in the structure and orientations of the student's and non-student's peer associations which can account for variations in choices of educational tenure. Two types of "significant others" were considered: close friends, and older brothers and sisters. Our major findings are as follows:

1) A greater proportion of potential non-students than potential students have been exposed to contexts that are unfavourable to scholastic pursuit. The converse is the case for the potential students.

2) Educational orientation of one's best friends are strongly associated with one's own educational intentions. At all levels of educational achievement, considerably more potential non-students than potential students have among their best friends those who are planning to leave school before finishing; have already left school before finishing;

or are not planning further studies beyond high school. Effects of best friends as educational role models tend to remain constant, controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's occupation.

3) Educational orientations of one's older brothers and sisters are even more strongly associated with one's own educational intentions. As in the case of best friends, a significantly greater proportion of potential non-students than potential students indicate they have older brothers and sisters who are either planning to leave CEGEP before finishing, or have already done so. Effects of older siblings as educational role models remain constant when controlling for sex and ethnic origin.

Self-Perception and Life-Orientation

We have, in this segment, tested our hypothesis that the non-student's self-image, role expectations, and educational/occupational orientations are considerably different from those of the student. In so doing, we have examined the proposition that one's self-image and one's orientation to life are important variables in the explanation of an individual's behaviour, including his educational and occupational aspirations and intentions. Our results have confirmed that there is indeed a relationship between one's ideals and the manner in which he conceives the actual, empirical world.

Four dimensions of perception of self were assessed: self-satisfaction; self-confidence; self-esteem; and personal efficacy.

Three distinct orientation-to-life profiles were discerned: present-oriented (immediate gratification); past-oriented (vicarious gratification); and future-oriented (deferred gratification).

Our major findings are as follows:

1) Significantly greater proportions of potential non-students than potential students express dissatisfaction with self; feel lack of confidence in self; consider

self not as good as anyone else; and are doubtful of their chances of success in life.

2) Significantly greater proportions of potential non-students than potential students tend to be present-oriented, i.e., concerned essentially with immediate gratification, importance of the present, and enjoyment of the present.

3) Likewise, greater proportions of potential non-students than potential students tend to be past-oriented, i.e., concerned with vicarious gratification through idealization and valorization of the past.

4) Potential students, far more than potential non-students, tend to be future-oriented, i.e., concerned with deferred gratification, and organization of their lives in terms of the future.

5) Our hypothesis that the non-student's self-image, role expectations, and educational/occupational orientations are considerably different from those of the student, was further substantiated by the results of the 1974 analysis, obtained through an assessment of the dimensions of self-perception and life-orientations.

6) Self-perception -- as manifested in terms of self-satisfaction, self-confidence, self-esteem, and personal efficacy -- was found to be strongly associated with the adolescent's intentions to continue with or withdraw from further education.

7) Orientation to life, the dimensions of which are manifested in the structure of past and present experiences, as well as in relationships to the future, was found to be positively associated with the educational orientations of our adolescent respondents.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF DATA

SECONDAIRE V (1972)

SECONDAIRE V (1972)

Introduction

With the conclusion of our analysis of Secondaire I at both time intervals, our attention shifts to a consideration of the second of our two educational levels, i.e., Secondaire V. As articulated in the study design portion of this research, Secondaire V was comprised of senior high school respondents, all of whom were in their final year (Grade XI) at the time of the initial survey. The total number of respondents in Secondaire V at the time of the initial survey was 10,203. Subsequently, at the time of the second interview schedule (1973),the original number of respondents was reduced to 5113 (4321 students and 792 workers). All respondents who were still in school were chosen,but non-students were randomly selected. Of the remaining 5113 respondents from which our research sample was chosen, 860 were eliminated on the grounds that they were out of sequence for that specific time interval. For example, 806 were still in high school in 1973 due to failure or incompletions; 4 others were enrolled in CEGEP II or III courses; while 50 others were registered at university. Our final 20% research sample was drawn randomly from among 3461 students in CEGEP I, 132 non-students/non-workers, and 660 non-students/workers. Our total sub-sample size was finalized at 919 (662 students, 257 non-students).

As further indicated in the study design, our intention here is to conduct a "longitudinal" study of Secondaire V for each of the designated time intervals (1972, 1973, 1974, in the present instance). In order to make meaningful comparisons between our two cohorts, the identical questionnaire (with minor modifications), was administered in 1972 to the respondents in Secondaire I and Secondaire V, and the identical variables and questions were selected in order to ensure the validity and consistency of our comparisons.

We commence our analysis of Secondaire V with an examination of the data at the first time interval (1972). We have, as in the case of Secondaire I, identified and classified our respondents into two categories: "potential" students, and "potential" non-students. These categories serve as our dichotomous dependent variables.

ASPIRATIONS

ASPIRATIONS

Educational Intentions

Similar patterns of response to those obtained in our analysis of Secondaire I appear in our examination of the Secondaire V data, and distinct potential student/potential non-student profiles emerge with even greater clarity and increased levels of significance. Our original assumption that one's ideal aspirations vis-a-vis educational and occupational achievement have an influence on and are in indicators of one's actual behaviour, is upheld and further substantiated by the Secondaire V findings. As Tables 59 and 60 clearly illustrate, highly significant differences in levels of educational achievement (ideal and actual) exist between the potential students and potential non-students in our senior high school sample. The following questions were designed to ascertain the level of education desired and anticipated by each respondent:

> "If you had your choice, how far would you like to go in school?"

TABLE 59

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Educational Aspirations (in 1972)

Status 1973	Leave High School	Finish High School	Collegial	University	n:
Students	0.6	4.2	34.5	60.6	657
Non-Students	6.2	56.1	21.4	16.3	257

p <. 001

Table 59 reveals that the majority of our potential potential students (60.6%) aspire to achieve a university education, while such is the case for only 16.3% of the potential non-students. By way of contrast, the majority of potential non-students (56.1%) indicate a desire to just finish high school, compared to a mere 4.2% of the potential students. Similarly, at the collegial level, 34.5% of the potential students, as compared to 21.4% of the potential non-students, aspire to acquire a CEGEP education.

"Actually, how far do you expect to go in school?"

TABLE 60

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Educational Expectations (in 1972)

Status 1973	Leave High School	Finish High School	Collegial	University	n:
Students	0.2	4.4	41.4	54.2	655
Non-Students	7.5	72.4	13.5	6.7	253

$p < .001$

Actual expectations, as illustrated in Table 60 resemble and even exceed the respondents' ideal aspirations. In this instance as well, the majority of potential students (54.2%) hold expectations of actual accomplishment of a university education, compared to only 6.7% of the potential non-students. On the other hand, nearly three-quarters of the potential non-students (72.4%) expect to go as far as the completion of high school, while such is the case for only 4.4% of the potential students. At the collegial level, more than three times the proportion of potential students (41.2%) to potential non-students (13.5%) expect to acquire a CEGEP education. Potential student/potential non-student differences in terms of educational aspirations and expectations remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Occupational Preferences

As indicated earlier in our analysis, we concur with Breton (1972: 229) that "occupational preference and educational intention can be regarded as indicators of the same phenomenon: the level of aspiration...". We again examine two dimensions of occupational preference: ideal aspirations; and actual expectations.

In the interests of clarity and conciseness, we have condensed the list of fifteen occupational categories contained in the questionnaires to five major categories as follows: "professional/para-professional"; "managerial/proprietorial"; "clerical/sales"; "skilled"; and "semi-skilled/unskilled". Table 61 illustrates the responses to the question of what sort of job or occupation the respondent would most like to make his or her life's work or career. Table 62 contains the responses to the question of what job or occupation the respondent thinks he or she will actually end up in.

"If you had your choice, what sort of job or occupation would you most like to make your life's work or career?"

TABLE 61

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Occupational Aspirations (in 1972)

Status 1973	Professional Para-Professional	Managerial Proprietorial	Clerical Sales	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	n:
Students	89.9	5.4	2.8	1.8	0.2	651
Non-Stud.	51.4	8.0	24.3	13.5	2.8	251

$p < .001$

As the above table so clearly reveals, the overwhelming majority of potential students (89.9%), compared to just over one-half of the potential non-students (51.4%), express a preference for a "professional/para-professional" type of occupation (accountant, doctor, lawyer, social worker, teacher, medical or dental technician, etc.). In all other categories of occupation, the proportion of potential non-students well exceeds that of the potential students. Nearly one-quarter of the potential non-students (24.3%), as compared to just 2.8% of the potential students, aspire to "clerical/sales" kinds of occupation (bank teller, book-keeper, office clerk, salesman, messenger, etc.), and 13.5% of the potential non-students, compared to just 1.8% of the potential students indicate "skilled" work (mechanic, electrician, carpenter, foreman, etc.) as their occupational preference. Among the least "attractive" occupational preferences are "managerial/proprietorial" positions (company official, manager, owner, etc.), and "semi-skilled/unskilled" types of jobs (machine operator, protective worker, laborer, etc.). A mere 2.8% of the potential non-students, and virtually none (0.2%) of the potential students aspire to the latter types of occupation, while only 8.0% of the potential non-students, and 5.4% of the potential students indicate an interest in the former.

"Considering your ability, marks, ambitions, and family finances, what job do you think you will actually end up doing?"

TABLE 62

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Occupational Expectations (in 1972)

Status 1973	Professional Para-Professional	Managerial Proprietorial	Clerical-Sales	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	n:
Students	80.2	5.6	8.5	3.9	1.8	620
Non-Stud.	35.4	5.0	40.0	14.6	5.0	240

$p < .001$

Actual occupational expectations, with minor variations, closely coincide with the ideal aspirations of our respondents. As indicated in Table 62, four-fifths of the potential students (80.2%) compared to just over one-third of the potential non-students (35.4%), actually expect to pursue a "professional/para-professional" career. By way of contrast, the largest proportion of potential non-students (40.0%) hold expectations of "clerical-sales" jobs as the type of work they would actually be doing, while 14.6% of the potential non-students to 3.9% of the potential students anticipate "skilled" work as their actual jobs. Virtually identical proportions of both potential non-students (5.0%) and potential students (5.6%) have expectations of "managerial/proprietorial" positions, while 5.0% of the potential non-students, compared to 1.8% of the potential students expect to do "semi-skilled/unskilled" type of work. Significant differences between the potential students and potential non-students, in terms of both ideal occupational aspirations and actual occupational expectations, remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

Earlier in this study, in our analysis of the Secondaire I data, strong support was found for our general hypothesis that the background, structure, and organization of the family of the student are in important ways different from those of the non-student. Several dimensions of family "culture" and family "educational patterns", as they pertain to and affect the adolescent's educational orientation, were examined. Our findings showed that such orientations were strongly associated with parental level of educational achievement, father's occupational status, internal structure of the family, conjugal role patterns, size of family, and community of residence. The findings lent further support to our contention that family "culture" and family "educational patterns" are products of the attitudes which parents convey to their children, either explicitly or implicitly, in the process of socialization. With these criteria of family influences in mind, our attention now focuses upon the results of the Secondaire V analysis.

TABLE 63

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Father's Level of Education (in 1972)

Status 1973	Elementary (1 - 7)	Secondary (8 - 11)	Post-Secondary (12-16 or more)	Don't know	n:
Students	34.1	27.7	32.0	6.3	654
Non-Students	52.0	31.2	11.6	5.2	250

$p < .001$

As Table 63 shows, our two categories of respondents can be clearly and significantly distinguished in terms of the level of paternal educational attainment. More than one-half of the potential non-students (52.0%), compared to just over one-third of the potential students (34.1%), state their fathers only have an elementary level of education, while conversely, 59.7% of the potential students to 42.8% of the potential non-students, state their fathers have a secondary or post-secondary level of education. It is of particular interest to note that at the post-secondary levels of father's education the proportion of potential students (32.0%) virtually triples that of the potential non-students (11.6%). The effects of paternal level of education remain constant while controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's occupation.

TABLE 64

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Mother's Level of Education (in 1972)

Status 1973	Elementary (1 - 7)	Secondary (8 - 11)	Post-Secondary (12-16 or more)	Don't Know	n:
Students	32.9	41.4	20.3	5.4	654
Non-Students	50.2	36.3	8.8	4.8	251

$p <. 001$

On the overall, an almost identical profile emerges in response to maternal level of educational attainment. Just over one-half of the potential non-students (50.2%), compared to just under one-third of the potential students (32.9%) indicate their mothers only have an elementary school education. Conversely, 61.7% of the potential students, compared to 45.1% of the potential non-students, indicate their mothers have a secondary or post-secondary level of education. As in the case of father's education, more than twice the proportion of potential students (20.3%) to potential non-students (8.8%), state their mothers have some level of post-secondary education. The effects of maternal level of education remain constant while controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Father's Occupational Status

The significant influence of family socio-economic status on children's educational and vocational aspirations has been amply demonstrated in the studies of Hollingshead (1949), Kahl (1953), Hyman (1953), Bordua (1960), and Breton (1972), to name only a few. In the present research, we have utilized father's occupation as a further index of family SES, in addition to that of parental level of education. Our findings at both junior and senior levels of high school concur with those of earlier studies. Our data, as presented below in Table 65, reveal that the academic and occupational orientations of adolescents are related to familial socio-economic status, as measured in terms of father's occupational status.

TABLE 65

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Father's Occupational Status (in 1972)

Status 1973	Professional Para-Professional	Managerial Proprietorial	Clerical Sales	Skilled	Semi-Skilled Unskilled	n:
Students	17.0	34.6	10.8	18.7	18.9	636
Non-Stud.	5.8	24.5	7.9	26.6	35.3	241

$p < .001$

The pattern which emerges from the Secondaire V analysis is quite consistent with that which was seen earlier in the case of Secondaire I. The majority of potential non-students (61.9%) are children of fathers whose occupations (skilled, semi-skilled/unskilled) rank low on Blishen's "Occupational Class Scale", i.e., Classes 5, 6, and 7, respectively. By way of contrast, the father's occupation of 37.6% of the potential students can be similarly ranked. Conversely, more than half the potential students (51.6%) are children of fathers whose occupations (professional/para-professional and managerial/proprietorial) rank high on the Blishen scale, i.e., Classes 1 and 2, while such is the case among 30.3% of the potential non-students. Of additional interest in the above table are the extreme differences at either end of the occupational scale. Nearly three times the proportion of potential students (17.0%) to potential non-students (5.8%) are children of fathers who are professionals or para-professionals, while nearly twice the proportion of potential non-students (35.3%) to potential students (18.9%) are children of fathers who are semi-skilled or unskilled workers. The effects of father's occupational status remain constant when controlling for sex, and ethnic origin. Significant potential student/potential non-student differences are found among those respondents whose fathers' level of education is post-secondary.

Internal Structure of the Family

Family size, and community of orientation constitute the initial two factors in our analysis of the internal structure of the respondents' families of orientation. Our Secondaire I results confirmed earlier findings of a negative relationship between the number of children in one's family and such things as academic performance, educational and vocational aspirations, etc. Likewise, size of community or the degree of urbanization appeared to be associated with such things as educational plans, career goals, etc. The findings for Secondaire V are consistent with those obtained for Secondaire I, and are illustrated in Table 66.

TABLE 66

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Size of Family of Orientation (in 1972)

Status 1973	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	n:
Students	3.4	10.2	23.5	19.1	13.7	8.1	5.8	3.2	655
Non-Stud.	4.4	10.8	15.2	18.8	13.2	12.0	7.6	16.0	250

p <. 001

The negative relationship between family size and educational aspiration can be clearly discerned in the above distribution. While the majority of both categories of respondents come from families of four or more children, the potential non-students (69.6%) well exceed the proportion of potential students (54.9%). Conversely, 45.1% of the potential students, compared to 30.4% of the potential non-students, come from families of three or fewer children. The effects of family size hold constant irrespective of sex, father's occupation, and father's education, while significant potential student/potential non-student differences are found among the French respondents, but not among the non-French.

Community of Orientation

A direct relationship between size of community of orientation and level of educational aspirations, degree of social mobility, and occupational goals, has been demonstrated in the works of Lipset and Bendix (1959), Grigg (1960), Elder (1963), Sewell (1964), and Breton (1972). Our own observations of the Secondaire I data concur with those of Breton (1972) that "adolescents from smaller communities have lower educational aspirations... than those from larger". These observations are further substantiated by the results obtained from the Secondaire V data, illustrated below in Table 67.

TABLE 67

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Community of Orientation (in 1972)

Status 1973	Montreal/Quebec (Metro Area)	City (20,000)	Town (5,000-20,000)	Village/ Country	n:
Students	53.6	10.4	15.8	20.2	653
Non-Stud.	42.1	8.1	17.0	32.8	247

p <. 001

As seen in the above table, more than half of the potential students (53.6%) come from large, metropolitan areas, while such is the case for 42.1% of the potential non-students. At the other end of the scale, just under one-third of the potential non-students (32.8%), compared to just over one-fifth of the potential students (20.2%), come from small village or country communities. Significant potential student/potential non-student differences are found among males, but not among females; among those whose fathers are semi-skilled workers; and among those whose fathors have a secondary school education. No significant differences are obtained on the basis of ethnic origin.

Family Interaction Patterns

Parent-child communication and intra-familial decision-making patterns, constitute our major dimensions of familial interaction. Parent-child communication is measured in terms of the following: parental reaction to the respondent's unsatisfactory grades; frequency of child-parent discussions about future educational plans; and frequency of child-parent discussions about future occupational plans. The influence of parental pressure on the educational/occupational orientations of their children has been demonstrated by Berdie (1954), Simpson (1962), Bell (1963), and Bordua (1964), as well as by our own research in Halifax (1970), and our findings in the present study among respondents in Secondaire I (1972 and 1974). Tables 68-70 illustrate the results of our analysis of Secondaire V data, and support our contention that the frequency and intensity of intra-familial communication are important because the expression of feelings and beliefs tends to influence the feelings and beliefs of others. Where the communication is intensive as well as extensive, similar attitudes and feelings tend to develop. The data tend to confirm our hypothesis that in the families of the potential non-students, respondent-parent intercommunication is less intense and less frequent than in the families of the potential students.

"When you get what your parents consider unsatisfactory grades, what do they do?"

TABLE 68

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Parental Reaction to Unsatisfactory Grades (in 1972)

Status 1973	Do Nothing	Discuss	Criticize	Punish	Always Satisfactory Grades	n:
Students	9.5	34.2	24.3	0.3	31.7	641
Non-Stud.	17.7	35.3	25.7	1.6	19.7	249

p <. 001

Of immediate interest in the above table are the responses (one parental and one adolescent) at either end of the scale. Close to one-third of the potential students (31.7%), to 19.7% of potential non-students state their grades are "always satisfactory". On the other hand, nearly twice the proportion of potential non-students (17.7%) to potential students (9.5%) state their parents "do nothing" in response to their unsatisfactory grades. A virtually equal proportion (just over one-third) of both categories of respondents indicate their parental reaction to unsatisfactory grades is one of "serious discussion". Overall, 45.0% of the potential non-students, compared to 34.1% of the potential students, indicate their parents tend toward negative-type reactions, i.e., "do nothing", "criticize", or "punish" in response to their unsatisfactory grades.

Frequency of respondent-parent intercommunication was assessed in terms of responses to the question: "How often do you discuss the following topics with your parents?"

"plans for further education after high school or CEGEP?"

TABLE 69

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Intrafamilial (Parent-Child) Discussions of Educational Plans (in 1972)

Status 1973	Often	Sometimes	Occasionally	Never	n:
Students	41.6	39.1	16.5	2.8	654
Non-Students	23.0	34.0	27.5	15.6	244

$p <. 001$

As we noted in the analysis of Secondaire I, while frequency of communication does not necessarily imply adequacy of communication, it is nevertheless a good measure of the degree, extent, and nature of the communication. Furthermore, the communication patterns illustrated in Tables 69 and 70, indicate the importance of parents as "significant others" or "reference models" in the formulation of the educational/ occupational orientations of their children. With regard to educational plans beyond the secondary or collegial levels, Table 69 shows that while the majority of both categories of respondents declare they discuss such plans with their parents "often" or "sometimes", the proportion of potential students (80.7%) far exceeds the proportion of potential non-students (57.0%). Of interest again are the extreme ends of the scale which show that close to double the proportion of potential students (41.6%) to potential non-students (23.0%) state they "often" discuss educational plans with their parents, while conversely, more than double the proportion of potential non-students (43.1%) to potential students (19.3%), state they "occasionally" or "never" discuss such plans with their parents. Significant potential student/potential non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex and ethnic origin.

"job plans after you finish your education?"

TABLE 70

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Intrafamilial (Parent-Child) Discussions of Occupational Plans (in 1972)

Status 1973	Often	Sometimes	Occasionally	Never	n:
Students	31.1	39.4	23.2	6.3	650
Non-Students	42.5	40.1	13.4	4.0	247

p <. 001

While here, too, the majority of both categories of respondents state they discuss occupational plans with their parents "often" or "sometimes", in this instance the proportion of potential non-students (82.6%) well exceeds that of the potential students (70.5%). Conversely, 29.5% of the potential students, compared to 17.4% of the potential non-students, state they only "occasionally" or "never" discuss such matters with their parents. Such a response pattern, when contrasted with that of educational plans, strongly suggests (as we have already indicated in the Secondaire I analysis) that, for the potential non-student, whose formal education will terminate in the imminent future with the completion of Secondaire V, occupational plans are of more immediate concern. Such adolescents would therefore tend to be more inclined to discuss occupational plans with their parents. By the same token, educational plans beyond high school are of more immediate concern to the potential students, and this concern is reflected in the frequency of their discussion with their parents on these matters as compared to that of the potential non-students. Potential student/potential non-student differences are significant among the females, but not among the males, and among the French respondents, but not among the non-French.

Family Authority Structure

Decision-making patterns, as manifested in terms of the distribution of conjugal roles (husband/wife power relationships),serve as the framework of analysis of family authority structure. We reiterate Breton's (1972: 181) observation that "...the distribution of power between husband and wife in a family may also affect the aspirations of adolescents". Breton (1972: 183) further maintains that "an equalitarian conjugal pattern is associated with high educational aspirations, and an individualistic pattern with low aspirations; and if one parent is dominant, it is irrelevant which one it is". As in the case of the Secondaire I analysis, we here consider four major modes of decision-making: father-dominant, equalitarian, mother-dominant, and neither-dominant, in the following contexts of decision-making: general profile, punishment profile, rule-making profile, vacation-planning profile, and major-purchasing profile. Table 71, below, illustrates our general findings relating to family authority structure.

"On the whole, how are the decisions made in your family?"

TABLE 71

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Family Authority Patterns (in 1972)

Status 1973	Father Always	Father More	Both Equal	Mother More	Mother Always	Neither	n:
Students	7.5	19.0	61.7	8.8	1.9	1.0	588
Non-Stud.	6.3	9.5	63.8	14.0	4.5	1.8	221

$p < .01$

On the whole, our present results are quite consistent with those obtained in the analysis of the Secondaire I data. The general profile, as presented in Table 71, is reflected in the particular profiles of the four-sub-areas. As in the earlier case, the modal conjugal role pattern throughout is "equalitarian" (father and mother equally). Likewise, with the exception of the general profile, illustrated above, a greater proportion of potential students than potential non-students state an "equalitarian" mode as the authority pattern in their families. Mother-dominant again emerges as a consistent pattern associated much more with the potential non-students than with the potential students, while father-dominance is somewhat inconsistent and inconclusive. Neither-dominance is again interpreted as "individualistic", and is associated more with the potential non-students than with the potential students.

THE SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT AND EXPERIENCE

The scholastic milieu is considered here as an extension of the adolescent's background characteristics. Breton (1972: 187) notes in his discussion of academic experience and educational plans: "In addition to the family background and the personality characteristics of the adolescent, it is reasonable to expect that the school experience and context have some bearing on the student's plans. It is difficult to argue that what happens to him in school, how well he does academically, his relationship with teachers and his particular curriculum -- to mention only a few aspects of school activities and organization -- are without relevance for his education and intentions". As indicated in the analysis of Secondaire I, the school is seen as one of the most important factors determining educational tenure. Accordingly, our analysis focuses upon the "climate" of the school as a "generating milieu" for student retention or attrition. Program of studies, academic performance, failure in school, participation in extra-curricular activities, values on education, and general satisfaction with school, constitute our areas of investigation.

We reiterate our earlier view that the school context consists of two subsystems: the formal (academic/administrative) and the informal (non-academic/social). The former comprises the "official" values of the adult community, while the latter incorporates the values of the youth culture with its own norms and goals. Success in the formal system is defined in terms of academic achievement, while in the informal system, it is defined in terms of social activities.

We commence the analysis of the Secondaire V data with a restatement of our general hypothesis: There is an inverse relationship between school experience and the tendency to withdraw from school, i.e., the more positive the experience, the less likely the desire to discontinue one's education.

Profile of Academic Experience

A configuration of four variables characterizes the academic profile of our respondents: program of studies, self-rating as a student, academic performance, and desire to continue/discontinue school. Our findings in this regard are presented in Tables 72-76.

Program of Studies

As described in the case of the junior high school respondents (Secondaire I), two major types of curriculum were, at the time of the initial survey, available in the high school systems of Quebec: the General Education Program (academic-oriented), and the Vocational/Professional Program (occupation-oriented), each with manifestly different functions. Our findings thus far show that program of studies is strongly associated with educational intentions, and are consistent with those of Breton (1972) who observes that the course or program of studies an adolescent enters has "far-reaching consequences for his future". Our present findings continue in similar vein:

"In what program of studies are you enrolled at present?"

TABLE 72

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Program of Studies (in 1972)

Status 1973	General Education	Vocational/Professional	n:
Students	90.7	9.3	647
Non-Students	46.1	53.9	243

p <. 001

A very interesting dichotomy is readily apparent from Table 72. Virtually double the proportion of potential students (90.7%) to potential non-students (46.1%) are enrolled in the General Program which offers a college-preparatory, matriculation-type curriculum. On the other hand, the majority of potential non-students (53.9%), compared to a mere 9.3% of the potential students, are enrolled in the Vocational/Professional Program which offers an occupation-oriented curriculum, and is designed to be terminal. Potential student/potential non-student differences are significant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Perception of Self as Student

The second dimension of the respondent's academic profile deals with his/her self-rating as a student in comparison with others. Our earlier findings were supportive of the hypothesis that the non-student's self-image, role-expectations, and educational/occupational orientations are considerably different from those of the student. The data illustrated below in Table 73 lend further credence to our hypothesis.

> "How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with the other students?"

TABLE 73

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Self-Rating as a Student (in 1972)

Status 1973	Among Best	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Among Poorest	n:
Students	6.9	36.7	53.8	2.4	0.2	654
Non-Stud.	3.5	13.3	72.5	9.0	1.6	255

p <. 001

Table 73 shows that well over twice the proportion of potential students (43.6%) to potential non-students (16.8%) consider themselves to be "above average" or "among the best", while conversely, 10.6% of the potential non-students, compared to 2.6% of the potential students, consider themselves to be "below average" or "among the poorest". Again, as in the case of the Secondaire I analysis, the majority of both categories of respondents consider themselves to be "average", but here, too, the proportion of potential non-students (72.5%) well exceeds that of the potential students (53.8%). The effects of self-rating remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

Academic Performance

A recurrent theme in the literature on school dropouts is the strong correlation between academic performance and low educational aspirations. Our own findings (1970), as well as the results of the Secondaire I analysis, concur with those of Cervantes (1966), Breton (1972), and others in the above regard. Thus, in addition to the respondent's self-assessment as a student, we consider actual scholastic performance as a most important element in his or her academic profile.

"What were most of your grades or marks this year?"

TABLE 74

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Academic Performance (in 1972)

Status 1973	75%+ (A's-B's)	66-74% (B's-C's)	60-65% (C's-D's)	50-59% (D's-E's)	-50% (E's)	n:
Students	30.5	44.2	21.5	3.5	0.3	650
Non-Stud.	19.2	33.6	33.2	12.0	2.0	250

p <. 001

As can be readily discerned in the above table, clear-cut differences exist between our two categories of respondents on the basis of academic performance. Virtually three-quarters of the potential students (74.7%), compared to slightly more than one-half of the potential non-students (52.8%), report their grades to be "A's and B's" (among the best) or "B's and C's" (above average). However, as the grade categories decrease, the proportion of potential non-students to potential students increases to the extent that nearly double the proportion of potential non-students (47.2%) to potential students (25.3%) report their grades to be "C's and D's" (average), "D's and E's" (below average), or "E's" (among the poorest). The effects of academic performance remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

Desire to Continue/Discontinue School

Two aspects of the respondent's desire to continue or discontinue his education constitute our final measure of academic experience profile:parental press, and respondent's "justification" of the dropout decision. The literature is replete with studies on the influence of parental stress on the educational aspirations of children. Kahl (1953), Berdie (1954), Simpson (1962), Bell (1963), and Krauss (1964),are among those who found parental stress to be one of the strongest factors in determining one's academic orientations. Table 75 illustrates the results in response to the question:

> "Do you think you would give up your studies soon if your parents did not exert pressure on you to continue?"

TABLE 75

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Parental Pressure to Continue School (in 1972)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	4.4	95.6	655
Non-Students	17.6	82.4	245

$p < .001$

While the overwhelming majority of both categories of respondents reply "no" to the above question, the proportion of potential students (95.6%) is nearly unanimous, compared to 82.4% of the potential non-students who also reply "no". Conversely, four times the proportion of potential non-students (17.6%) to potential students (4.4%), declare they would ("yes") abandon their studies if there were no parental pressure on them to continue. The effects of parental press remain constant irrespective of sex, and ethnic origin. It is of interest to note here that, even at this advanced stage in secondary school, close to one-fifth of the potential non-students feel they would discontinue their studies were it not for pressure from parents.

Consistent with their own desire to continue or discontinue school, were our respondents' attitudes on the "justification", in general, for the decision to terminate one's studies prematurely. Table 76 illustrates the pattern of response to the statement:

"Students who want to leave high school (CEGEP) are often right because that is not where you learn the things you really need to know".

TABLE 76

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Justification of Desire or Decision to Drop Out of School (in 1972)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	3.6	22.1	54.3	20.1	647
Non-Students	7.5	25.4	51.6	15.5	252

$p < .05$

Unlike our earlier findings among the junior high school respondents on this same variable, the potential student/potential non-student distinction in the present instance is less sharp, and at a lower level of statistical significance. A substantial majority of all the respondents state they "disagree" or "strongly disagree" with such a "justification" for termination of studies. However, as expected, the proportion of potential students (74.4%) exceeds that of the potential non-students (67.1%). Conversely, just under one-third of the potential non-students (32.9%), compared to just over one-quarter (25.7%) of the potential students declare they "agree" or "strongly agree" with such a "justification" for leaving school.

The School Context

We here consider two aspects of the scholastic milieu that were found to significantly distinguish between our two categories of respondents at the senior high school level: extra-curricular activities -- assessed in terms of willingness and frequency of participation in such activities. The school "climate" -- assessed in terms of the respondent's opinions and perception as to the utility of what is learned; student solidarity; and student freedom.

Extra-Curricular Activities

The relationship between participation in extra-curricular activities and educational tenure has been well documented in the literature. Studies by Hollingshead (1949), Thomas (1955), Coleman (1961), Cervantes (1966), Bell (1967), and Breton (1972), all show that the non-student's participation in inter-school activities is considerably less than that of the student. While the present data do not clearly distinguish between academic and non-academic school activities, they do however distinguish between the potential student and potential non-student in terms of willingness to participate and frequency of participation in such activities. Our findings on this variable are presented in Tables 77 and 78 below:

> "Are you usually willing to take part in extra-curricular activities (cultural, political, leisure activities, etc.) at your high school (or CEGEP)?"

TABLE 77

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities: Willingness (in 1972)

Status 1973	Always	Usually	Rarely	Never	n:
Students	9.9	50.5	36.5	3.2	658
Non-Students	9.1	45.1	38.7	7.1	253

$p <.05$

On the variable of willingness to participate in extra-curricular activities, our findings, though significant in terms of the potential student/potential non-student dichotomy, were not as clear-cut as in the earlier, Secondaire I case. Nevertheless, the data do support our hypothesis. As Table 77 shows, 60.4% of the potential students, compared to 54.2% of the potential non-students, state they are "always" or "usually" willing to take part in interschool activities, while conversely, 45.8% of the potential non-students, to 39.7% of the potential students, state they are "rarely" or "never" willing to partake of such activities. Significant differences are found among the male respondents, but not among the female, and among those whose fathers are professionals by occupation. No significant differences are found on the basis of ethnic origin.

"Would you say you take part in such activities more, about as much, or less than most of the students?"

TABLE 78

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities: Frequency (in 1972)

Status 1973	More	About as Much	Less	n:
Students	16.1	60.1	23.8	659
Non-Students	8.3	53.0	38.7	253

$p < .001$

Frequency of participation in extra-curricular activities was assessed in relative terms, i.e., in comparison with the respondent's peers. Our results on this variable are highly significant. As shown in the above table, the potential students are clearly distinguished from the potential non-students on every measure of frequency. Virtually twice the proportion of potential students (16.1%) to potential non-students (8.3%) feel they take part in inter-school activities "more" than most of the students. Conversely, over one-third of the potential non-students (38.7%), compared to less than one-quarter of the potential students (23.8%), feel they partake "less" than most others in such activities. As for the "norm", 60.1% of the potential students, compared to 53.0% of the potential non-students, feel their participation in school activities is "about as much" as most of the students. The effects of frequency of participation remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

Perception of the Scholastic Milieu

To conclude our examination of the scholastic milieu, we consider the "climate" of the school in terms of the respondent's overall impressions and evaluations of his or her school vis-a-vis certain salient features or characteristics: importance of good grades; utility of what is learned; discussions on serious topics; stress on discipline; student interest in learning; career or occupational preparation; student solidarity; and student freedom. In our analysis of junior high school respondents (Secondaire I), significant potential student/potential non-student differences were found along three measures of school "climate": utility of what is learned, student solidarity, and student freedom. In the present instance, significant differences between our two categories of senior high school respondents (Secondaire V) were found on the following indices of school "climate": stress on discipline, career or occupational preparation, and student solidarity. Our findings, illustrated in Tables 79-81, represent opinions ("true or false") on certain statements in reference to the respondent's own school or CEGEP.

"most of the teachers attach a lot of importance to discipline"

TABLE 79

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perception of School: Stress on Discipline (in 1972)

Status 1973	True	False	n:
Students	44.3	55.7	653
Non-Students	57.0	43.0	249

$p < .001$

As the above table shows, the majority of potential non-students (57.0%), compared to 44.3% of the potential students, are of the opinion that the statement on the stress on discipline is "true" as far as their school is concerned. Conversely, the majority of potential students (55.7%), compared to 43.0% of the potential non-students, express the opinion that such a statement on the importance of discipline is "false" when applied to their school.

"there is not much unity among the students"

TABLE 80

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perception of School Student Solidarity (in 1972)

Status 1973	True	False	n:
Students	56.6	43.4	654
Non-Students	46.6	53.4	247

p <. 01

We have already stated that student solidarity within the school context, in much the same way as participation in extra-curricular activities, may serve as an indicator of social integration. At the same time, we inject a note of caution as to the precise intent of the question, and as to its interpretation by the respondents concerned. In the Secondaire I analysis, a majority of both categories of respondents found the statement "not much unity" among the students to be "false" as it related to their own school situation. In that instance, however, the proportion of potential students (71.3%) exceeded that of the potential non-students (62.1%). In the present instance, as shown in Table 80, a reverse pattern of response is obtained. Among the senior high school respondents, a majority of the potential students (56.6%), compared to 46.6% of the potential non-students, concur with the statement "not much unity" among the students, while conversely, a majority of the potential non-students (53.4%), compared to 43.4% of the potential students, find such a statement to be "false" vis-a-vis their school situation.

> "much attention is given to preparing us for a future career or occupation at my high school (or CEGEP)".

TABLE 81

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perception of School: Stress on Career Preparation (in 1972)

Status 1973	True	False	n:
Students	53.2	46.8	648
Non-Students	70.6	29.4	248

$p <.001$

Table 81 reveals an interesting response pattern which, in a sense, is a direct reflection of the program of studies in which the respondents were enrolled (Table 72). While the majority of both categories of respondents find the statement concerning career/occupation preparation to be "true" of their school, the proportion of potential non-students (70.6%) well exceeds that of the potential students (53.2%). Conversely, 46.8% of the potential students, compared to 29.4% of the potential non-students, consider such a statement to be "false" in reference to their school. The above findings appear to parallel those of Table 72. Given the case that the majority of potential non-students (53.9%) were enrolled in the Vocational/Professional program of studies, compared to only 9.3% of the potential students, it stands to reason that for the occupation-oriented potential non-students, more than for the academic-oriented potential students, the statement on the school's career/occupation preparation is much more applicable to and consistent with their own experience.

PEER ASSOCIATIONS

THE ADOLESCENT PEER GROUP

Our foregoing examination of the effects of the scholastic milieu upon the adolescent's educational/occupational orientation has focused upon the school "climate" as a determining factor. In this segment of the analysis, our attention turns to a consideration of student-peer relations as a determining factor. Since, in contemporary society, a considerable part of the young person's life is spent in school, it is reasonable to assume that the school is a significant area of interaction and experience in determining the individual's aspirations for further education. While the findings on the influence of peers on levels of educational/occupational aspiration are inconclusive, there is some evidence (Haller and Butterworth, 1960) to indicate that rather than influencing such aspirations, peer interactions tend to reinforce already-established orientations. This may be because students tend to associate with peers of similar levels of educational/occupational aspiration.

As noted in the preface to our analysis of the Secondaire I data, adolescence is often seen as a time when the young person seeks to break away from parental control, and turns instead to peers in search of social definitions, values, appropriate standards of behaviour, etc. The peer group thus constitutes, among other things, the adolescent's "reference group", i.e., his or her "reference figures" or "significant others". Since, however, young people differ in the extent to which they are committed to peers and parents, it is the aim of this research to ascertain whether there is a difference in the structure and orientations of the student's and non-student's peer associations which can account for the variation in choices of educational tenure.

Earlier, in our analysis of the family of orientation, we considered the impact of parental press on the educational/occupational aspirations of their children. We now consider the influence of peer relations, specifically that of close friends and brothers or sisters. Our findings for the former are illustrated in Tables 82-84. Our findings for the latter are illustrated in Tables 85-86.

> "Among your best friends is there anyone who:
>
> a) plans to leave high school before finishing...
> b) left high school before finishing...
> c) does not plan to continue beyond high school..."

TABLE 82

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Plan to Leave High School (in 1972)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	25.2	74.8	618
Non-Students	43.3	56.7	210

p <. 001

TABLE 83

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Have Already Left High School (in 1972)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	41.4	58.6	619
Non-Students	64.0	36.0	222

p <. 001

TABLE 84

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Best Friends do not Plan to Continue Beyond High School (in 1972)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	53.6	46.4	627
Non-Students	80.3	19.7	228

$p < .001$

From the data in the above tables, it is quite apparent that the present, past, and future educational orientations of our respondents' best friends function as a model for their own orientations. In all instances, clear-cut distinctions can be seen between the educational profile of the potential student's best friends and those of the potential non-student. In terms of present intentions (Table 82) 43.3% of the potential non-students, to just one-quarter of the potential students, acknowledge they have among their best friends those who intend to leave school before normal termination. By way of contrast, three-quarters of the potential students (74.8%), compared to 56.7% of the potential non-students, declare there is no one among their best friends who has such intentions. As for such action in the past (Table 83), close to two-thirds of the potential non-students (64.0%), compared to 41.4% of the potential students, state there are among their best friends those who have already withdrawn from school prior to successful completion. Conversely, 58.6% of the potential students to 36.0% of the potential non-students, state that none of their best friends has already left school before finishing. Concerning their best friends' future intentions (Table 84), four-fifths of the potential non-students (80.3%) state they have among their best friends those who are not planning to continue studies beyond high school, while such is the case among 53.6% of the potential students. On the other hand, more than twice the proportion of potential students (46.4%) to potential non-students (19.7%), declare that among their best friends there is no one who intends to discontinue studying beyond high school. The effects of best friends' educational intentions remain constant irrespective of sex and ethnic origin.

The influence of brothers or sisters as educational role models was assessed in terms similar to those relating to best friends as educational role models. Significant potential student/potential non-student differences were obtained vis-a-vis the present and past educational orientations of our respondents' older siblings. We again utilize the notions of "favourable" or "unfavourable" to distinguish the social contexts in which orientations to educational pursuit arise.

"Do you have brothers or sisters who:

a) plan to leave before finishing CEGEP to go to work...
b) have already left to go to work before finishing CEGEP..."

TABLE 85

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Brothers or Sisters Plan to Withdraw from CEGEP (in 1972)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	12.3	87.7	593
Non-Students	28.0	72.0	207

p <. 001

TABLE 86

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Brothers or Sisters Have Already Withdrawn from CEGEP (in 1972)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	25.4	74.6	602
Non-Students	40.6	59.4	212

p <. 001

On this measure of peer influence, too, the potential student/potential non-student differences were highly significant. In terms of present orientations (Table 85), more than twice the proportion of potential non-students (28.0%) to potential students (12.3%) indicate they have brothers or sisters who are currently planning to terminate studies before completion of CEGEP and go to work. Conversely, while the majority of both categories of respondents state they had no brothers or sisters contemplating such a move, the proportion of potential students (87.7%) well exceeds that of the potential non-students (72.0%). As for past educational orientations (Table 86), 40.6% of the potential non-students, compared to 25.4% of the potential students, have a brother or sister who has already left CEGEP prematurely and gone to work. While, on the other hand, a majority of both categories of respondents state they have no brothers or sisters who have already withdrawn from CEGEP prior to completion, here too, the proportion of potential students (74.6%) well exceeds that of the potential non-students (59.4%).

As was the case in the Secondaire I analysis, two additional questions relating to older siblings presently at or already been to university were apparently not applicable. In both instances, over 80% of all the respondents state they have no brothers or sisters, in the past or at present, at university.

SELF-PERCEPTION AND LIFE-ORIENTATION

PERCEPTION OF SELF AND ORIENTATION TO LIFE

Earlier in this research, we postulated that the individual's self-image and orientation to life were important variables in the explanation of behaviour including, in the present context, educational/occupational aspirations and orientations. Our underlying assumptions are consistent with, and extensions of, Breton (1972: 25) who states that "... in making a vocational decision an individual tries to match his personality characteristics with those of the occupational environment. The process entails testing conceptions of self and of self-in-environment against various features of that environment". Our central hypothesis in this regard is that the non-student's self image, role expectations, and educational/occupational orientations are considerably different from those of the student.

Among our respondents at the senior high school level (Secondaire V), significant potential student/potential non-student differences were found in terms of three measures of self-perception: self-confidence; self-esteem; and personal-efficacy. Likewise, in terms of orientation-to-life profiles, significant potential student/potential non-student differences were manifested in the structure of present and past experiences, and in the relationship to the future. Three such orientation profiles clearly distinguish our two categories of respondents: present-oriented (immediate gratification); past-oriented (vicarious gratification); and future-oriented (deferred gratification). The dimensions of self-perception are illustrated below in Tables 87-89. The orientation-to-life profiles are presented in Tables 90-94.

"I usually do not have enough confidence in myself".

TABLE 87

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perception of Self: Confidence in Self (in 1972)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	11.8	42.9	37.5	7.8	653
Non-Students	11.1	53.6	32.9	2.4	252

p <. 01

While the majority of both categories of respondents agree or strongly agree with the above statement (thereby indicating a general sense of apprehension about self), the proportion of potential non-students (64.7%) exceeds that of the potential students (54.7%). Conversely, close to half of the potential students (45.3%), compared to just over one-third of the potential non-students (35.3%), disagree or strongly disagree with the above statement (thus indicating a feeling of confidence in self).

"I recognize I am as good as anyone else".

TABLE 88

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perception of Self: Self-Worth, Self-Esteem (in 1972)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	21.1	65.8	11.8	1.2	650
Non-Students	14.8	68.8	16.0	0.4	250

p <. 05

On the question of self-esteem or self-worth, the potential student/potential non-student differences are relatively slight, though still statistically significant. While, as seen in Table 88, the overwhelming majority of both categories of respondents agree or strongly agree with the above statement that they are as good as anyone else, the proportion of potential students (86.9%) exceeds that of the potential non-students (83.6%). Conversely, 16.4% of the potential non-students, compared to 13.0% of the potential students, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement on self-worth, i.e., feel they are not as good as anyone else.

"I often doubt my chances of getting ahead in the world".

TABLE 89

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perception of Self: Personal Efficacy (in 1972)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	3.5	27.6	53.5	15.3	648
Non-Students	5.5	45.1	40.7	8.7	253

p <. 001

As for personal-efficacy, the results indicate highly significant differences between our two categories of respondents. Table 89 shows that just over one-half of the potential non-students (50.6%) to less than one-third of the potential students (31.1%) are apprehensive about their chances in life. On the other hand, more than two-thirds of the potential students (68.8%), compared to just under one-half of the potential non-students, express no such doubts or apprehensions concerning their life chances. On all three measures of self-perception (self-confidence, self-esteem, personal efficacy) the effects remain constant irrespective of sex and ethnic origin.

Orientations to Life

To conclude this segment of our analysis, we now turn to a consideration of the respondents' attitudes and orientations to life, especially those vis-a-vis education and occupation, the dimensions of which are manifested in the structure of their past and present experiences, as well as in their relationship to the future. In this regard, Breton (1972: 3) has observed:

> "... an adolescent's career development and, more specifically, his intentions and decisions with respect to his future career, depend on three inter-related sets of factors: his social origin; his present experience; and his attitudes (expectations, sense of efficacy) and preparedness (information, competence to deal with organizational environments) with respect to the future".

Earlier in this study, we postulated a relationship between one's ideals (aspirations/intentions) and the manner in which one conceived the actual (empirical/temporal) world. We further noted that not all individuals have the same perceptions of the temporal world, nor do they accord the same importance to the various moments in their lives. Accordingly, among our respondents three distinct orientation-to-life profiles were discerned: present-oriented (immediate gratification); past-oriented (vicarious gratification); and future-oriented (deferred gratification).

Present-Oriented

Two measures of orientation to the present were assessed: concern over and importance of the present; and enjoyment of the present over all else. Tables 90 and 91, illustrate response patterns to the following statements:

"time passes so quickly that it is best not to be too concerned about the present".

"it is best to enjoy the present without bothering too much about anything else".

TABLE 90

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Orientation to Life: Importance of the Present (in 1972)

Status 1972	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	1.5	10.3	53.8	34.5	653
Non-Students	2.8	14.3	56.3	26.6	252

$p <. 05$

TABLE 91

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Orientation to Life: Enjoyment of the Present (in 1972)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	2.6	22.8	60.9	13.8	654
Non-Students	5.1	34.8	50.6	9.5	253

$p <. 001$

While, as indicated in Table 90, the overwhelming majority of both categories of respondents disagree or strongly disagree with the statement that it is best not to be too concerned about the present, the proportion of potential students (88.3%) still exceeds that of the potential non-students (82.9%). Conversely, 17.1% of the potential non-students, compared to 11.8% of the potential students, agree or strongly agree that it is best not to accord too much importance to the present. As for enjoyment of the present, Table 91 shows that 39.9% of the potential non-students, compared to 25.4% of the potential students, concur with the proposition that it is best to enjoy the present without bothering too much about anything else, while conversely, just under three-quarters of the potential students (74.7%), compared to 60.1% of the potential non-students, express the opinion that it is not best to enjoy the present without concern for anything else.

Past-Oriented

One measure of orientation to the past (idealization of the past) was found to distinguish the potential non-student from the potential student in a highly significant manner. Our second measure of orientation to the past (valorization of the past), though not statistically significant, nevertheless distinguishes between our two categories of respondents in the direction of our hypothesis. Responses to the following proposition are presented in Table 92, below:

> "life may have been harder in the past, but it allowed the individual to develop his potentialities better".

TABLE 92

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Orientation to Life: Idealization of the Past (in 1972)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	8.0	35.1	45.8	11.2	653
Non-Stud.	11.4	46.5	31.1	11.0	193

p <. 001

Table 92 shows that the majority of potential non-students (57.9%) compared to 43.1% of the potential students, support the proposition of idealization of the past, while conversely, 57.% of the potential students to 42.1% of the potential non-students, disagree or strongly disagree with the above proposition about the past.

Future-Oriented

Orientations to the future were measured in terms of two indices: concern over the future; and pessimism about the future. Tables 93 and 94 contain data gleaned from responses to the following statements:

> "why worry about the future, things always work out in the end"
>
> "when I think about my future I don't feel very optimistic"

TABLE 93

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Orientation to Life: No Concern about the Future (in 1972)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	3.1	15.0	49.5	32.5	653
Non-Students	4.4	23.8	40.9	31.0	252

$p < .01$

TABLE 94

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Orientation to Life: Pessimistic about the Future (in 1972)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	5.6	23.2	51.9	19.3	646
Non-Students	10.9	29.8	44.8	14.5	2248

$p < .01$

On both indices of orientation to the future, clear-cut potential student/potential non-student differences were obtained. Table 93 shows that 28.2% of the potential non-students, compared to 18.1% of the potential students, agree or strongly agree with the proposition that there is no need to be concerned about the future. On the other hand, while the majority of both categories of respondents do not support such a proposition about the future, the proportion of potential students (82.0%) who feel that way, exceeds that of the potential non-students (71.9%). As for outlook on the future (Table 94), 40.7% of the potential non-students, compared to 28.8% of the potential students, indicate they are pessimistic (not very optimistic) about their future. Conversely, however, 71.2% of the potential students, compared to 59.3% of the potential non-students, disagree with the proposition, and indicate they are indeed optimistic about their future.

RESUME

RESUME

Our summation of the Secondaire V (1972) results pursues the same general format as was the case in our résumé of the Secondaire I data. It will be noted that many of the findings among our junior high school respondents are confirmed and even further substantiated at the senior high school level. Accordingly, we here present a comprehensive summary of the Secondaire V (1972) data in terms of each respective independent variable, as follows:

Aspirations

To an even greater extent than was revealed in the analysis of Secondaire I, our major findings for Secondaire V, in terms of educational/occupational aspirations and expectations, show very clear-cut distinctions between those who are oriented toward continuation of their studies and those who are oriented toward termination of theirs, as follows:

1. Level of educational aspiration (ideal) and educational expectation (actual) are strongly associated with the educational intentions of our respondents.
2. Among the potential students, well over half desire and anticipate a university education, while additionally one-third or more desire and anticipate a collegial education.
3. Among the potential non-students, the largest proportion desire and anticipate the completion of high school as their level of educational achievement, followed by entry into the work force.
4. Occupational aspirations (ideal) and occupational expectations (actual) are also strongly associated with our respondents' educational intentions.

5. The overwhelming majority of potential students show a distinct preference, at both the ideal and actual levels, for the more prestigious "professional/para-professional" types of occupation.

6. Among the potential non-students, at the ideal level, just over one-half indicate a preference for "professional/para-professional" kinds of occupation, while just under one-quarter indicate "clerical/sales" as their ideal choice. At the level of actual expectations, however, the largest proportion anticipate "clerical/sales" work, while an additional one-third or so anticipate "professional/para-professional" types of work.

7. The effects of educational/occupational aspirations (ideal) and expectations (actual) remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

Family of Orientation

In the foregoing analysis of the influence of the family on the educational/occupational orientations of senior high school respondents (Secondaire V), we have again (as in our analysis at the junior high school level) found strong support for our general hypothesis that the background, structure, and organization of the family of the potential student are in important ways different from those of the potential non-student. The underlying assumption of our analysis is that family "culture" and family "educational patterns" are products of the attitudes which parents convey to their children, either explicitly or implicitly, in the process of socialization. Our analysis has focused on such family factors as parental level of education, father's occupational status, intra-familial communication patterns, familial authority structure, size of family, and community of residence. A summary of the findings is presented below:

1. Parental educational level appears to be positively associated with the scholastic orientation of the respondents. More than twice the proportion of potential students to potential non-students indicate

both their parents have achieved some level of collegial or university education. By way of contrast at least one-half of the parents of the potential non-students, compared to approximately one-third of the parents of the potential students, have achieved only an elementary level of education. The effects of parental level of educational attainment remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's occupation.

2. Father's occupational status is strongly associated with the respondent's educational aspirations. More than half of the potential students, compared to less than one-third of the potential non-students, are children of fathers whose occupations are categorized as "professional/para-professional" or "managerial/proprietorial", while conversely, twice the proportion of potential non-students to potential students are children of fathers whose occupations are categorized as "semi-skilled" or "unskilled". The effects of father's occupation remain constant while controlling for sex and ethnic origin.

3. Family size appears to be negatively associated with the educational intentions of the respondents. More than two-thirds of the potential non-students come from families of four or more children, while such is the case for just over half of the potential students. Conversely, the remaining close to one-half of the potential students, compared to less than one-third of the potential non-students, come from families of three or fewer children. The effects of family size remain constant while controlling for sex, father's occupation and father's education.

4. Our data again confirm a direct association between size of community of orientation and one's educational orientation. The present findings concur with those of Breton (1972)... "adolescents from smaller communities have lower educational aspirations... than those from larger." Nearly two-thirds of the potential students come from large metropolitan areas or cities of 20,000 or more, while such is the case for just over one-half of the potential non-students. Conversely, just under one-third of the potential non-students, compared to one-fifth of the potential students, come from small rural (village/country) communities.

5. Parent-child intercommunication differs both quantitatively and qualitatively in the families of the potential

students and potential non-students. Such communication is strongly associated with the respondents' educational orientation. Close to one-half of the potential non-students, to one-third of the potential students, state their parents tend toward negative-type reactions ("do nothing", "criticize", or "punish") in response to what they (the parents) consider are unsatisfactory grades. On the subject of future educational plans, more than four-fifths of the potential students, compared to just over one-half of the potential non-students, indicate such discussions with their parents occur "often" or "sometimes". Conversely, on the subject of future occupational plans (more imminent for those contemplating termination of studies with the conclusion of high school), over four-fifths of the potential non-students state they "often" or "sometimes" discuss such matters with their parents.

6. Our findings show that an "equalitarian" conjugal role pattern, as manifested in familial decision-making processes, is associated with the adolescent's educational orientation in a positive direction. In our four contexts of intrafamilial decision-making, the modal conjugal role pattern throughout is "equalitarian" (father and mother equally). In all contexts, except the general authority profile, a greater proportion of potential students than potential non-students declare the "equalitarian" mode to be the pattern in their families. "Mother-dominance" emerges as a consistent pattern associated much more with the potential non-students, while "father-dominance", as an authority pattern, remains inconsistent and inconclusive.

The School

In our examination of the scholastic milieu and its impact on the educational/occupational orientations of adolescents, we have considered the school context and academic experience as extensions of the respondents' background characteristics. Our analysis has accordingly concentrated on the "climate" of the school as a "generating milieu" for student retention or attrition. Under "academic experience" we have included the following variables: program of studies, self-image as student, academic performance, future studies plans, and desire to continue/discontinue school. Under "school context" we have subsumed such variables as: satisfaction with school, participation in extra-curricular activities, and the respondent's perception of the "climate" in his or her own school. On most of the dimensions considered, strong support was found for our general hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between school experience and the tendency to withdraw from school, i.e., the more positive the experience, the less the desire to discontinue one's education. We summarize our major results as follows:

1. As expected, the respondents' program of studies is strongly associated with their educational/occupational orientations. Twice the proportion of potential students (90.7%) to potential non-students (46.1%) are enrolled in General Program (college-preparatory, matriculation-type curriculum). Conversely, more than five times the proportion of potential non-students (53.9%) to potential students (9.3%) are enrolled in the Vocational/Professional Program (occupation-oriented, terminal-type curriculum). The effects of program of studies remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education.

2. Self-rating as a student (vis-a-vis others) is apparently highly significant in differentiating between our two categories of respondents. More than double the proportion of potential students (43.6%) to potential non-students (16.8%) consider themselves to be "above average" or "among the best", whereas more than four times the proportion of potential non-students (10.6%) to potential students (2.6%) consider themselves to be "below average" or "among the poorest". As for the "norm", close to three-quarters of the potential non-students (72.5%), compared to little over one-half of the potential students (53.8%), consider themselves to be just "average" students. The effects of subjective self-rating remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

3. Our data reveal a strong association between academic performance and educational orientation. Nearly three-quarters of the potential students (74.7%) to just over one-half of the potential non-students (52.8%), report their grades to be "A's and B's" (among the best). Conversely, close to twice the proportion of potential non-students (47.2%), as potential students (25.3%)

report their grades to be "C's and D's" (average), "D's and E's" (below average), or "E's" (among the poorest). The effects of academic performance remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

4. Significant potential student/potential non-student differences are found in terms of the desire to continue/discontinue school (as manifested through parental press, and "justification" of the dropout decision). While the over-whelming majority of both categories of respondents state they would not quit school, four times the proportion of potential non-students (17.6%) to potential students (4.4%) declare they would ("yes") abandon their studies were it not for parental pressure on them to continue. Likewise, on the variable of "justification" of the dropout decision, the overwhelming majority of respondents disagree with the "justification" for such a decision. On the other hand, one-third of the potential non-students, to one-quarter of the potential students, express their accord with such "justification".

5. Participation in extra-curricular activities is strongly associated with the educational orientation of our respondents. On our two measures (willingness and frequency) of interschool activities, the potential non-student's participation is shown to be considerably less than that of the potential student, especially in terms of frequency of such participation, the effects of which remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

6. The school "climate", as experienced by the potential non-student, is qualitatively different from that experienced by the potential student. The potential non-student, to a greater extent than the potential student, tends to experience his or her own school in terms of its stress on discipline, its orientation toward career/occupational preparation, and solidarity among the students.

Peer Associations

We have, in this segment, undertaken to assess the importance of peer relations as influences on the educational pursuits of our respondents. In so doing, we have employed the notions of "significant others" and "reference figures" (in this case, close friends and siblings), and have defined the differential social contexts as "favourable" or "unfavourable" to educational tenure, depending on whether the present, past, and future educational orientations of close friends and siblings serve as models for educational retention or educational attrition. Our findings are as follows:

1. On every measure, highly significant differences exist between the educational profile of the potential student's best friends and siblings and those of the potential non-student. As was the case in our analysis of the Secondaire I data, a far greater proportion of potential non-students than potential students, are exposed to social contexts that we define as "unfavourable" to educational pursuit.
2. The educational orientations of one's "significant others" and "reference figures" are strongly associated with one's own educational aspirations and intentions. Our data clearly show that the present, past, and future educational plans of our respondents' best friends and siblings function as a model for their own plans.
3. The effects of peers and older siblings as educational role models remain constant irrespective of sex and ethnic origin.

Self-Perception and Life-Orientation

Our analysis of the influence of self-perception and life-orientation on adolescent educational/occupational intentions has, as in the earlier Secondaire I case, revealed clear-cut differences between the potential students and potential non-students in our sample. Three dimensions of self-perception were assessed; self-confidence; self-esteem; and sense of efficacy. Likewise, three distinct orientation-life profiles emerged: present-oriented; past-oriented; and future-oriented. Our findings are as follows:

1. Significantly greater proportions of potential non-students than potential students are apprehensive about self; lack a sense of self-worth; and doubt their sense of personal-efficacy.
2. Significantly greater proportions of potential non-students than potential students tend to be present-oriented, i.e., concerned more with immediate gratification, and to also be past-oriented, i.e., concerned with vicarious gratification through idealization and valorization of the past.
3. However, vis-a-vis the future, significantly greater proportions of potential students than potential non-students tend to be concerned with deferred gratification in the organization of their lives, and manifest a sense of confidence and optimism about the future.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

SECONDAIRE V (1973)

SECONDAIRE V (1973)

Introduction

We now turn our attention to an analysis of Secondaire V at the second time interval (1973). At this juncture, the original cohort of respondents, all of whom were in Secondaire V (Grade XI) during the academic year 1971-72, is no longer in high school. Those who continued their education, are herein designated as "students" and were enrolled in the first year of a collegial (CEGEP) program. Those who discontinued or terminated their schooling with the completion of high school are herein designated as "non-students". While in the original 1973 interview the "non-students" were further dichotomized as either "workers" or "non-workers", we have found it convenient and desirable to combine the two sub-categories into one. On most of the variables selected for examination, no significant differences were found between the non-student/workers and non-student/non-workers.

Our total 1973 sample consisted of 3461 first-year collegial students, from which a random sub-sample of 20% (662) was drawn. The entire sample of non-students/non-workers (131) was left intact due to the small numbers, and a 20% sample (126) was drawn from the original sample of non-students/workers. Our total sub-sample for the 1973 analysis is composed of 919 respondents: 662 students, and 257 non-students.

It was earlier noted that as the level of education of the respondents increases, the differences between our two categories (student/non-student) diminish. This seems to indicate that whatever factors were operative in the earlier stages of education have all taken their effect, and that other influences are now surfacing. This is indeed what our findings for Secondaire V (1973) appear to show. While some earlier factors continue to exert an influence, other factors, hitherto latent or absent, now become manifest, and take effect at this relatively advanced stage in the educational process.

ASPIRATIONS

ASPIRATIONS

The social science literature abounds with a variety of approaches and orientations to the study of human aspirations. With specific reference to educational aspirations, many of the studies show that certain determinants of educational aspirations are also determinants of occupational and other types of aspiration. As for the present study, our examination of adolescent educational aspirations has involved three inter-related aspects: educational desires; educational expectations; and achievement commitment. We thus contend, that in order for an individual to have high educational aspirations, he must not only *desire* and *expect* high educational attainment, he must also make a *commitment* toward this goal. Such commitment, as we have already seen throughout this research, is manifested in the individual's endeavour and desire to achieve "good" grades in school. Educational aspirations, as we have defined the term, takes into account these three dimensions. In the 1973 analysis, as in the initial survey (1972), and as in the earlier Secondaire I analysis, a consistent and recurrent student/non-student dichotomy emerges in terms of the educational expectations and educational expectations variables. Even at this relatively "late" stage in the educational process (secondary school completion), the student/non-student differences, as illustrated in Tables 95 and 96, are highly significant.

"If you had your choice, how far would you like to go in school?"

TABLE 95

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Educational Aspirations (in 1973)

Status 1973	Secondary (High School Completion /Drop CEGEP)	Collegial (CEGEP Completion)	University (Bachelor's or higher)	n:
Students	4.4	28.7	67.0	542
Non-Stud.	12.8	51.4	35.8	109

p <. 001

The results in Table 95 are rather decisive and conclusive at each level of educational aspiration. Nearly three times the proportion of non-students to students desire or seem content with a secondary level of education. As the above table shows, 12.8% of the non-students aspire to just "finish secondary education", while 4.4% of the students (first-year collegial) desire to leave the educational system "before finishing CEGEP or equivalent". We acknowledge that while the two responses, "finish secondary education" and "leave before finishing CEGEP or equivalent" are not exactly the same thing, the net effect is nevertheless sufficiently similar to allow a valid aspirational comparison. More than one-half of the non-students (51.4%), compared to just over one-quarter of the students (28.7%), aspire to acquire a collegial level education, while two-thirds of the students (67.0%) to just over one-third of non-students (35.8%), express the wish to attain a university (undergraduate or graduate) education.

"Actually, how far do you expect to go in school?"

TABLE 96

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Educational Expectations (in 1973)

Status 1973	Secondary (High School Completion /Drop CEGEP)	Collegial (CEGEP completion)	University (Bachelor's or higher)	n:
Students	5.2	37.8	57.1	638
Non-Stud.	28.1	54.2	17.1	96

$p < .001$

Consistent with our findings at the first time interval (1972), our respondents' actual expectations resemble and even exceed (in statistical significance) their ideal aspirations. Table 96 vividly reveals that more than five times the proportion of non-students to students actually expect to go as far as the secondary level of education. As seen in the above table, over one-quarter of the non-students (28.1%) expect to just "finish secondary education", compared to only 5.2% of the students (first-year collegial) who expect to leave the educational system "before finishing CEGEP or equivalent". More than one-half of the non-students (54.2%), compared to over one-third of the students (37.8%), expect to accomplish a collegial level of education, while more than three times the proportion of students (57.1%) to non-students (17.1%) hold expectations of actual accomplishment of a university (undergraduate or graduate) education. Student/non-student differences, on both aspirations and expectations, remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's level of education.

THE SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT AND EXPERIENCE

We have, throughout this research, been concerned with the influence of the school upon the individual. Our underlying assumption has been that just as social class and other social structural characteristics affect the individual's values, beliefs, attitudes, orientations, etc., so too, do organizational experiences -- in this case, the school. We have already noted that in contemporary society, a considerable part of a young person's life is spent in school. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that the school -- including teachers, peers, course work, activities, etc. -- is a significant area of interaction and experience in influencing the individual's educational and occupational aspirations and orientations.

Our analysis of the school has accordingly focused on two central areas of experience: the formal (academic/administrative) and the informal (non-academic/social). In the first instance, we are concerned with the adolescent's evaluation of and alienation from the school as a symbol of education. In the second instance, we are concerned with the adolescent's evaluation of and alienation from the school as a social experience.

Program of studies, academic performance, desire to continue/discontinue education, and satisfaction/dissatisfaction with school as a learning environment constitute the first area of school experience. Student-peer relations, extra-curricular activities, and other non-academic spheres constitute the second area of school experience.

In our analysis of the Secondaire V (1973) data, significant student/non-student differences were obtained in the area of academic experience (academic performance), and in terms of the school context (opinions and ideas vis-a-vis the goals of education). Our findings for both these variables are illustrated below, in Tables 97-103.

TABLE 97

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Academic Performance (in 1973)

Status 1973	75% + (A's-B's)	65 - 74% (B's-C's)	60 - 64% (C's-D's)	50 - 59% (D's-E's)	-50% (E's)	n:
Students	32.5	49.1	16.4	1.7	0.3	640
Non-Stud.	15.5	54.6	21.8	7.1	0.8	238

$p < .001$

A consistent and recurrent factor throughout this study that, at each educational level and at each time interval, has significantly differentiated the student from the non-student, has been that of academic performance. Without exception, the response pattern has been the same: as the grade categories decrease, the proportion of non-students to students increases dramatically. Here again, as Table 97 shows, more than twice the proportion of students (32.5%) to non-students (15.5%) report their most recent grades to be "A's and B's", while conversely, at the other end of the scale, close to four times the proportion of non-students (7.9%) to students (2.0%) report their most recent grades as "D's and E's". In the intermediate categories of "above" average (B's-C's), and "just" average (C's-D's), the proportion of non-students exceeds that of the students, consistent with our earlier results. It would seem, therefore, that in conjunction with educational desires and educational expectations, commitment to achievement (as manifested in the attainment of "good" grades in school) is an important factor which affects scholastic retention or attrition.

Earlier, in our analysis of the Secondaire I data at the second time interval (1974), we found that a further dimension of our respondents' values and ideas vis-a-vis school and education was their assessment or perception of ideal goals for an educational institution. Possible goals suggested included: career preparation; creation of a favourable student environment; development of a sense of values and patterns of behaviour; basic knowledge of community, national, and world affairs; intellectual maturity of the student; meeting the requirements of the job market; and preparation for future positions of authority. Among our Secondaire I (1974) respondents, significant student/non-student differences were obtained on only two of the above variables: intellectual maturity and development; and labour market requirements. We attributed those rather sparse findings to the fact that either the "wrong" or inappropriate goals had been presented in the questionnaire, or that given the case that our respondents at that juncture were only in Secondaire III (Grade 9), the goals suggested for their consideration were beyond their competence to assess adequately or effectively. In the present instance, however, our results were more complete and more fruitful. Significant student/non-student differences were obtained on six of the seven proposed goals. Our findings are presented below, in Tables 98-103.

"to prepare the student for his future career or profession..."

TABLE 98

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perceived Goals of School: Career Preparation (in 1973)

Status 1973	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Particularly Important	Not At All Important	n:
Students	68.3	27.6	3.7	0.5	646
Non-Stud.	67.2	16.6	12.6	3.6	247

$p < .001$

While, as the above table shows, the overwhelming majority of both categories of respondents consider the goal of "career preparation" to be "very" or "fairly" important, the proportion of students (95.9%) well exceeds that of the non-students (83.8%). On the other hand, four times the proportion of non-students (16.2%) to students (4.2%) consider such a goal as "not particularly" or "not at all" important.

> "to provide the student with an environment where he can make the most of life without the worries that will come later..."

TABLE 99

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perceived Goals of School: Creation of Student Environment (in 1973)

Status 1973	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Particularly Important	Not At All Important	n:
Students	10.9	29.6	34.9	24.5	641
Non-Stud.	40.7	35.9	14.9	8.5	248

$p < .001$

Table 99 reveals that close to double the proportion of non-students (76.6%) to students (40.5%) consider the goal of a "favourable student environment" to be "very" or "fairly" important. Conversely, however, more than twice the proportion of students (59.4%) to non-students feel such a goal is "not particularly" or "not at all" important.

"to help the student develop a sense of values and
find behaviour patterns which will guide his future..."

TABLE 100

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perceived Goals of School: Develop Sense of Values (in 1973)

Status 1973	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Particularly Important	Not At All Important	n:
Students	40.8	42.5	14.5	2.2	640
Non-Stud.	31.6	37.7	19.8	10.9	247

$p < .001$

As can be seen in Table 100, more than four-fifths of the students (83.3%), compared to just over two-thirds of the non-students (69.3%), consider the goal of "development of a sense of values and patterns of behaviour" to be "very" or "fairly" important. Conversely, close to double the proportion of non-students (30.7%) to students (16.7%) think such a goal is "not particularly" or "not at all" important.

> "to help the student mature intellectually and develop
> a sense of judgment..."

TABLE 101

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perceived Goals of School:
Develop Intellect/Judgment (in 1973)

Status 1973	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Particularly Important	Not At All Important	n:
Students	64.0	31.3	3.9	0.8	642
Non-Stud.	46.0	43.5	9.7	0.8	248

$p <.001$

Once again, as was the case with the goal of "career preparation", the overwhelming majority of both categories of respondents consider the goal of "intellectual maturity and a sense of judgment" to be "very" or "fairly" important. But here, too, the proportion of students (95.3%) exceeds that of the non-students (89.5%). Likewise, at the other end of the scale, although the figures are relatively small, more than twice the proportion of non-students (10.5%) to students (4.7%) consider this goal "not particularly" or "not at all" important.

"to meet the requirements of the labour market..."

TABLE 102

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perceived Goals of School: Labor Market Requirements (in 1973)

Status 1973	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Particularly Important	Not At All Important	n:
Students	23.5	43.3	24.8	8.3	637
Non-Stud.	47.0	42.1	10.1	0.8	247

p <. 001

The data in Table 102 no doubt reflect the respective imminent and impending statuses of our two categories of respondents. While 89.1% of the non-students consider the goal of "labour market requirements" to be "very" or "fairly" important, such is the case, by way of comparison, among 66.8% of the students. Conversely, three times the proportion of students (33.1%) to non-students (10.9%) express the opinion that such a goal is "not particularly" or "not at all" important.

"to train individuals so that they can later hold positions of authority in society..."

TABLE 103

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perceived Goals of School: Training for Authority Positions (in 1973)

Status 1973	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Particularly Important	Not At All Important	n:
Students	12.5	34.3	41.4	11.8	642
Non-Stud.	26.8	45.9	22.4	4.9	246

$p < .001$

Also reflective of the statuses of our two respective categories of respondents are the results illustrated in Table 103. Close to three-quarters of the non-students (72.7%), compared to less than one-half of the students (46.8%), consider the goal of "authority positions training" to be "very" or "fairly" important. On the other hand, virtually twice the proportion of students (53.2%) to non-students (27.3%) consider such a goal "not particularly" or "not at all" important.

Consistent with our previous findings on the effects of the perception of the school's goals, our present data reinforce our earlier observations that the students tend to see such goals in the direction of academic-orientation, and the development of capacities toward that end, whereas the non-students see the goal of an educational institution as job-orientation, and as the preparation toward meeting the requirements of the employment market.

Student/non-student differences remain constant on this variable when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's educational/occupational status.

PEER ASSOCIATIONS

THE ADOLESCENT PEER GROUP

Within the literature on dropouts, an entire series of studies deals with the influence of the peer culture on the educational and occupational orientations of adolescents. An area of research of particular interest to the present context, has been the differential student/non-student friendship patterns. Some general conclusions can be drawn from our review of the pertinent literature. Stuart (1955) states that one of the ways that school leavers and non-leavers differ is that "most of the dropouts' close friends were out of school". In a large-scale survey of teen-agers' attitudes, Remmers and Radler (1958) found a disdain for school among large numbers of adolescents, in that concerns for friendship and popularity far outweighed concern for academic achievement. Haller and Butterworth (1960) confirmed that adolescent peer interactions affect educational aspirations, but have a somewhat weaker effect on occupational aspirations. The same researchers also concluded that rather than influencing such aspirations, peer interactions tend to reinforce already-established orientations. This may be because students, as well as non-students, tend to associate with peers of similar levels of educational/occupational aspiration.

These studies, and many other similar ones, have led Coleman (1961) to the following conclusion:

> "the adolescent who cannot find status within the school may try to find it elsewhere, in deviate subgroups or in turning his attention completely away from the school... anti-school groups may arise as serious contenders for adolescent leadership... these adolescent subcultures exert a strong deterrent to academic achievement... students with ability are led to achieve only when there are social rewards, primarily from their peers, for doing so".

Of more direct relevance and applicability to the current study is the role of others in the career decisions of our adolescent respondents. Earlier in this text, we alluded to George Herbert Mead's notion of the "significant others", and to the role of such "reference figures" in the formulation and development of the individual's self-concept and self-identity. We further identified parents, siblings, and close friends as the major "reference figures" in the lives of our respondents in terms of influencing their values, behaviour, plans, aspirations, etc. Additionally, we utilized Elliot and Voss' (1974) notion of "exposure to dropout" (a variation of Sutherland's "differential association" theme) as a necessary variable in the causal chain leading to a student's decision to withdraw from school or to discontinue further education.

Our analysis of the influence of the family has shown the impact of parental pressure and encouragement on the educational intentions of their children. Breton (1972: 323) also found that "the intention to continue beyond high school is strongly related to the support received from these sources". Breton's reference is not restricted to parents only, but also included the adolescent's friends and teachers as "reference figures". Negatively, too, the research literature shows that anti-school attitudes on the part of parents (and other "significant others") are correlated with shorter school tenure on the part of children.

As the literature on adolescence reveals, young people differ in the extent to which they are committed to peers and parents. Furthermore, as Breton's (1972) research confirms, educational encouragement not only derives from different persons, but such "encouragement towards post-secondary education may have a different impact, depending on whether the supporting source is friends, teachers, or parents". Breton's results indeed indicate that "different people do in fact vary widely in the influence they have on the educational plans of adolescents", and that parental support is the principal form of encouragement. Where "friends only" were the type of "reference figure", respondents tended to be among the least likely to plan to go beyond high school. Where parents and friends were the type of "reference figure", respondents tended to be among the most likely to go beyond high school.

Consistent with the aforementioned research findings are our own results, gleaned throughout this study in our analysis of Secondaire I (1972), Secondaire V (1972), and in the present instance, Secondaire V (1973). We present our findings for the latter, below, in Tables 104-107.

> "Among your best friends this year are there any who are students?"

TABLE 104

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Students This Year (in 1973)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	99.4	0.6	648
Non-Students	82.5	17.5	229

p <. 001

"Among your best friends this year are there any who are: workers?

TABLE 105

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Workers This Year (in 1973)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	69.4	30.6	607
Non-Students	92.4	7.6	236

p <.001

Not unexpectedly, Tables 104 and 105 show interesting patterns of response, one almost the complete reverse of the other. In the first instance, virtually the entire sample of students (99.4%) affirm that there are among their best friends those who are students, while such is the case for a significantly lower (even though substantial proportion of non-students (82.5%). In the second instance, the overwhelming majority of non-students (92.4%), compared to just over two-thirds of the students (69.4%), have among their best friends those who are workers.

Similar questions, relating to the scholastic status of our respondents' best friends for the previous academic year, yielded similar response patterns, as illustrated in Tables 106 and 107 below:

"Among those who were your best friends last year, (school year 1971-72), are there any who: finished their studies?"

TABLE 106

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Terminated Studies Last Year (in 1973)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	35.5	64.5	586
Non-Students	81.9	18.1	226

$p < .001$

"Among those who were your best friends last year, (school year 1971-72), are there any who: continued their studies?"

TABLE 107

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Peer Associations: Best Friends Continued Studies Last Year (in 1973)

Status 1973	Yes	No	n:
Students	98.9	1.1	636
Non-Students	82.1	17.9	224

$p < .001$

As can be seen from the data presented in Table 106, more than four-fifths of the non-students (81.9%), compared to just over one-third of the students (35.5%), indicate that among their best friends there are those who have finished their studies (high school completion), and have terminated their education. Conversely, more than three times the proportion of students (64.5%) to non-students (18.1%), state they have no one among their best friends for whom high school completion is also the termination of education.

An almost identical response pattern to that obtained in Table 104 appears in Table 107. Virtually the entire sample of students (98.9%), compared to 82.1% of the non-students, state that they have among their best friends those who have finished their studies (high shcool completion), and are continuing their education. Conversely, close to one-fifth of the non-students (17.9%), compared to a mere 1.1% of the students, state they have no one among their best friends who has done so.

Consistent with our earlier findings on the effects of best friends as educational role models, student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's educational/occupational status.

SELF-PERCEPTION AND LIFE-ORIENTATION

PERCEPTION OF SELF AND ORIENTATION TOWARDS LIFE

In his discussion of the vocational decision-making process, Breton (1972: 24-29) identifies several factors which may enhance or impede the facilitation of that process. Of particular interest to the present examination is the author's articulation of the notion of "conceptual self-system", two components of which, are conceptions of self and self-in-environment; and attitudinal approaches to self and life. We have already noted Breton's assertion that: "The individual's conceptual self-system includes his assessment of his own abilities, interests, and general attitudinal approaches to self (for example, self-esteem) and to life (independence)". Breton further cites several characteristics of both components of the self-system which, in many respects, are quite applicable to our own data. Such characteristics as "ambiguity", "lack of clarity", "general orientation to work", and "appraisal of one's chances of success" were seen by Breton as among the salient elements in the conception of self and self-in-environment. Such characteristics as "self-acceptance", self-knowledge", "independence in decision-making", and "success motivation/failure motivation" were observed by Breton to be among the salient elements in the attitudinal approaches to self and life.

Conception of Self and Self-in-Environment

Two dimensions of self-concept and self-in-environment here examined are significant: a sense of powerlessness; and a sense of confusion and unclarity. Our findings are illustrated below, in Tables 108 and 109, and show that significantly higher proportions of non-students to students feel a sense of powerlessness in solving present-day problems, and feel a sense of confusion and complication.

"When I think about the important problems facing present-day society, I get the feeling that nothing much can be done to solve them".

TABLE 108

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perception of Self: Sense of Powerlessness/Pessimism (in 1973)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	2.3	15.0	53.9	28.8	646
Non-Stud.	4.5	23.7	58.0	13.9	245

$p < .001$

While the vast majority of both categories of respondents disagree or strongly disagree with the above statement, the proportion of students (82.7%) exceeds that of the non-students (71.9%). Conversely, 28.2% of the non-students, compared to 17.3% of the students, manifest in their responses a sense of powerlessness and pessimism concerning problems in contemporary society.

"everything is so complicated, I don't really know what is going on".

TABLE 109

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Perception of Self: Sense of Confusion/Unclarity (in 1973)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	3.1	25.4	52.1	19.4	645
Non-Stud.	5.3	37.0	50.6	7.0	243

p <. 001

On this variable, too, a substantial majority of both categories of respondents disagree or strongly disagree with the statement, but as in the case of "sense of powerlessness", the proportion of students (71.5%) exceeds that of the non-students (57.6%). Conversely, 42.3% of the non-students compared to 28.5% of the students, manifest in their agreement with the statement, a sense of confusion and unclarity concerning things around them.

Attitudinal Approaches to Self and Life

We here consider two dimensions of attitudinal approaches to self and life: attitude toward others; and success/failure orientation. Self-image and self-esteem refer to two types of self-orientation. Rosenberg (1965) has dealt extensively with the concept of self-esteem, which refers to the individual's attitudes toward himself. Self-image, on the other hand, refers to the individual's description of himself in terms of concrete properties. It is the image one has of oneself, rather than attitudes towards oneself. As Breton (1972: 27) notes: "An individual's negative feelings about himself may also be accompanied by an inadequate assessment and knowledge of his own abilities. This leads to the general hypothesis that those who experience a general problem with self-identity are also handicapped in the formation of vocational identity, and this is reflected in terms of a higher probability of indecision or uncertainty about the future".

> "one should never try to compare one's work with the work of others".

TABLE 110

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Orientation to Life: Attitude Toward Others (in 1973)

Status 1973	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	31.2	33.3	27.0	8.5	645
Non-Stud.	25.0	54.5	18.0	2.5	244

p <. 001

By extension, the above statement can be interpreted to imply "one should never try to compare one's self with that of others". Whatever the case, virtually four-fifths of the non-students (79.5%), compared to just under two-thirds of the students (64.5%), agree or strongly agree with the statement, signifying thereby, a certain negative feeling about or inadequate assessment of self vis-a-vis others. Conversely, more than one-third of the students (35.5%), compared to just one-fifth of the non-students (20.5%), disagree or strongly disagree with the statement, and manifest a positive feeling about and assessment of self vis-a-vis others.

Our second attitudinal factor is that of success-orientation versus failure-orientation. On this point, Breton (1972), in a reference to Heckhausen, notes:

> "...'Success-motivated' persons, when setting a goal, consider the probability of success rather than that of failure; they judge their levels of achievement against a general background coloured with success expectations, and, correspondingly, the reverse is true for 'failure-motivated' persons".

The data presented in Table 111, below, clearly distinguish the student from the non-student, and illustrate responses to the statement:

> "In all one does, one should try:
>
> to do as well as most people...
> to do a little better than most people...
> to be better than anyone else..."

TABLE 111

Educational Orientations (in 1973) by Orientation to Life: Success-Motivated vs. Failure-Motivated (in 1973)

Status 1973	As well as most people	A little better than most people	Much better than most people	Better than anyone else	n:
Students	15.0	34.4	33.9	16.6	613
Non-Stud.	34.6	28.3	22.8	14.3	237

p <. 001

More than two-thirds of the students (68.3%), compared to just over one-half of the non-students (51.1%), manifest in their responses an orientation to do "better" (either a little or a lot) than most people in all their endeavours, and a slightly higher proportion of students (16.6%) to non-students (14.3%), are motivated to be better than anyone else. At the other end of the scale, however, more than twice the proportion of non-students (34.6%) to students (15.0%), seem content to do only "as well as most people" in all their endeavours.

RESUME

RESUME

Our analysis of the Secondaire V (1973) data has followed the same general methodological mode evidenced in the analysis of Secondaire I (1972, 1974), and Secondaire V (1972). From the 1973 questionnaires we were able to glean pertinent data on the following major independent variables: educational aspirations; school context and experience; adolescent-peer influences; and perception of self and orientation toward life. It should be noted here, however, that unlike our results at earlier stages in this study, virtually no significant findings were obtained in 1973 on the influence of the family of orientation, due almost entirely to the fact that the 1973 questionnaires contained remarkably few items of relevance to that variable. Even those few that did relate to the family of orientation, were of no significance in distinguishing the student from the non-student.

Following, is a synopsis of the major independent variables in the Secondaire V (1973) analysis, and the relevant dimensions of each variable:

Aspirations:

Educational Aspirations (ideal)
Educational Expectations (actual)

School Context and Experience:

Academic Performance
Values and Ideas on School and Education (Goals)

Adolescent-Peer Influences:

Best Friends as Educational Role Models

Self-Perception and Life-Orientation:

Perception of Self and Self-in-Environment
Attitudinal Approaches to Self and Life

1) Consistent with our earlier results, at each level of education, and at each time interval, educational aspirations and expectations continue to be a highly significant factor in the student/non-student distinction. More than twice the proportion of students to non-students indicate a desire and expectation to achieve a university education, while conversely, more than three times the proportion of non-students to students, aspire and expect to attain a secondary level of education. As for a collegial level of aspiration and expectation, more than twice the proportion of non-students to students desire and anticipate this level of education. The effects of educational aspirations and expectations remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

2) As observed throughout this study, academic performance continues to be very strongly associated with educational intention and orientation. A consistent and recurrent pattern emerges: as the grade categories decrease, the proportion of non-students to students increases. The Secondaire V (1973) results show that more than twice the proportion of students (32.5%) to non-students (15.5%) report their most recent grades to be "A's and B's", while conversely, at the other extreme, close to four times the proportion of non-students (7.9%) to students (2.0%) report their most recent grades as "D's and E's". While the vast majority of both categories of respondents report their grades in the intermediate ranges of "B's-C's" and "C's-D's", such is the case among more than three-quarters of the non-students (76.4%), compared to just under two-thirds of the students (65.5%). Significant student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

3) Significant student/non-student distinctions can be discerned in terms of their differential perceptions of ideal goals of an educational institution. On six ideal goals, our results are very clear-cut; career preparation; student environment; sense of values; labour market needs; intellectual maturity; and authority positions training. The association of

perception of the school's goals with adolescent educational orientation and intention reinforces our earlier, Secondaire I (1974), findings in this regard: Students tend to see such goals in the direction of academic orientation, and the development of capacities toward that end; whereas the non-students tend to see the goals of the school in the direction of job-orientation, and as preparation toward meeting the requirements of the employment market. The effects of perception of the school's goals remain constant when controlling for sex and ethnic origin.

4) The educational orientations of one's best friends, as "significant others" or "educational role models", continue to be strongly associated with one's own educational aspirations and intentions. The 1973 data show the influence on our respondents of their best friends' present and past educational/occupational orientations, which serve as a model for their own orientations. Significant student/non-student differences obtain irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, and father's education and occupation. Considerably greater proportions of students than non-students have among their best friends those who are currently students; whereas conversely, a considerably greater proportion of non-students to students claim among their best friends those who are currently "workers", i.e., non-students. In similar vein, for the previous academic year (1971-72), a considerably greater proportion of non-students to students have best friends who have "finished their studies" after completing high school; whereas conversely, a considerably greater proportion of students than non-students count among their best friends those who have "continued their studies" after completing high school.

5) Self-perception, as manifested in terms of a sense of powerlessness/pessimism, and a sense of confusion/unclarity, appears to be strongly associated with the educational orientations and intentions of our adolescent respondents. The 1973 data show that greater proportions of non-students than students manifest a sense of powerlessness and pessimism concerning problems in contemporary society, and a sense of confusion and unclarity concerning things around them.

6) Orientation to life, the dimensions of which are manifested in certain attitudinal approaches to self and life, also tends to be positively associated with the educational orientations and intentions of our adolescent respondents. Significant student/non-student differences obtain in terms of attitude toward others, and success/failure motivation. Our data show that greater proportions of students than non-students manifest a positive feeling about and assessment of self vis-a-vis others, and a motivation to do better than most people, or even better than anyone else. Significant student/non-student differences are maintained while controlling for sex, ethnic origin, and father's education.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

SECONDAIRE V (1974)

SECONDAIRE V (1974)

Introduction

The third interview schedule (1974) constitutes the final disposition of Secondaire V, and with it, our analysis draws to a close. At this juncture, our subsample of respondents has, through the processes of educational retention or attrition, diminished to 555 in number. The "student" component of our subsample consists of 493 respondents at the Collegial II level, while the "non-student" component consists of 62 respondents, either working or not working at the time of the 1974 survey. The "student" subsample is constituted in the following manner: 247 males, 238 females (8 missing observations), and 275 French, 182 non-French (36 missing observations). The "non-student" subsample is constituted as follows: 29 males, 33 females; and 44 French, 18 non-French.

Several variables, observed earlier in this study as significant factors in the student/non-student dichotomy, continue to be strongly associated with the educational orientations of our respondents. Among the most salient of such factors found in 1974 were:

educational aspirations and expectations
parental press
academic performance, guidance counselling
orientation to self and life

We have already drawn attention to a rather interesting phenomenon which we have observed as our research progresses longitudinally through the different time sequences and the different levels of education: as the level of education of the respondents increases, the differences between our two categories (student/non-student) diminish. This seems to suggest that whatever factors were operative in the earlier stages of the educational process have all taken their effect, and that other influences are now surfacing. While some earlier factors continue to exert an influence, other factors hitherto latent or absent now become manifest.

ASPIRATIONS

ASPIRATIONS

Educational aspirations, as considered in this research, has taken into account three inter-related aspects; educational desires; educational expectations; and achievement commitment. Throughout this study, in each cohort and at every time interval, we have consistently found that one's _ideal_ aspirations vis-a-vis educational/occupational achievement have had an influence on and were indicators of one's _actual_ behaviour. Furthermore, achievement commitment, as manifested in the individual's endeavour and desire to achieve "good" grades in school, has been amply demonstrated in terms of academic performance. Not unexpectedly, therefore, our findings in 1974 are quite consistent with those obtained at the earlier stages, and the student/non-student dichotomy in terms of the educational aspirations-expectations variables, is again manifest at a very high level of statistical significance. Our results are illustrated below in Tables 112 and 113.

"If you had your choice, how far would you _like_ to go in school?"

TABLE 112

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Educational Aspirations (in 1974)

Status 1974	Terminate Education (No further studies/ Quit CEGEP)	Collegial (CEGEP completion)	University (Bachelor's/ Grad.)	n:
Students	2.9	28.4	68.8	484
Non-Stud.	27.9	24.6	27.8	61

$p <. 001$

Once again, as can be seen in Table 112, the student/non-student distinction in terms of educational aspirations is decisive and conclusive at every level of educational achievement. While more than two-thirds of the students (68.8%) aspire to a university education (bachelor's or graduate degree), such is the case for just over one-quarter of the non-students (27.8%). Conversely, at the other end of the scale, more than one-quarter of the non-students (27.9%), compared to a mere 2.9% of the students, indicate a desire to terminate their education (either no further studies, or leave before CEGEP completion). Relatively similar proportions of students (28.4%) and non-students (24.6%) express a desire to complete at least a collegial level of education. Interestingly enough, close to one-fifth of the non-students (19.7%), compared to none of the students, aspire to "other" educational alternatives, but as these are recorded in descriptive rather than quantitative form, the responses do not appear in the data. Significant student/non-student differences remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's education, and father's occupation.

"How far do you in fact expect to go in school?"

TABLE 113

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Educational Expectations (in 1974)

Status 1974	Terminate Education (No Further Studies/ Quit CEGEP)	Collegial (CEGEP Completion)	University (Bachelor's/ Grad.)	n:
Students	2.5	38.4	59.1	482
Non-Stud.	0	34.1	36.3	44

$p < .001$

As anticipated, the patterns of educational expectations resemble, and in some ways exceed, those of educational aspirations. Table 113 shows that the majority of students (59.1%) actually expect to achieve a university education (bachelor's or graduate level), while such is the case for just over one-third of the non-students (36.3%). At the other end of the scale, 2.5% of the students, compared to none of the non-students, expect to terminate their studies prior to collegial completion. However, since the non-students have already done so, the "termination" expectation option is no longer applicable to them. Once again, relatively similar proportions of students (38.4%) and non-students (34.1%) actually expect to achieve at least a collegial level of education. An additional 29.5% of the non-students indicate an expectation of some "other" educational alternative, but as in the case of aspirations, their response are descriptive rather than quantitative, and are not recorded in the data. The effects of educational expectations remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's education and father's occupation.

FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

Parental Stress

Our review of the literature in the introduction to this research, as well as our findings throughout the study, have amply demonstrated the influence of parental pressure on the educational orientations of our adolescent respondents. Parental attitudes and values vis-a-vis education, parental reaction to satisfactory or unsatisfactory grades, parental educational aspirations for their children, and parental encouragement, reward, and assistance are among the manifold dimensions of parental stress considered herein. In his discussion of "Family Characteristics and Vocational Decision-Making" Breton (1972: 84) maintains that "the formulation of an occupational goal involves considerable testing of the individual's own potential against the structure of the occupational environment and against other people's ideas and evaluations". He notes further... "any encouragement in the direction of a goal would help, particularly if it comes from the parents. Their aspirations for their children constitute such an encouragement. It is likely, therefore, that the adolescent who perceives that his parents want him to continue his education after high school will be oriented toward a goal".

At an earlier stage in the present analysis (Secondaire I-1974), parental stress was assessed in terms of father's and mother's reaction to the desire or decision of their child to drop out of school. Parental stress was shown to be strongly associated with the educational orientations of the adolescent respondents. More than four-fifths of the students, compared to roughly one-half of the non-students, indicated their parents would or did object (strongly or mildly) to such a move. Likewise, in the present instance (Secondaire V - 1974), a similar response pattern appears, as can be seen from the data in Tables 114 and 115.

"If you wanted to drop your schooling right now, what, in your opinion, would be the attitude of your father and mother?"... (student questionnaire)

"How did your mother and father react when you decided to stop studying on a full-time basis?" ... (non-student questionnaire)

TABLE 114

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Father's Reaction to Drop Out Desire or Decision (in 1974)

Status 1974	Approve	Indifferent	Mild Objection	Strong Objection	Deceased	n:
Students	5.0	8.4	22.4	59.3	4.8	477
Non-Students	37.7	21.3	31.1	4.9	4.9	61

p <. 001

TABLE 115

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Mother's Reaction to Drop Out Desire or Decision (in 1974)

Status 1974	Approve	Indifferent	Mild Objection	Strong Objection	Deceased	n:
Students	6.9	5.8	24.7	60.9	1.7	481
Non-Students	41.0	9.8	37.7	8.2	3.3	61

p <. 001

The data in the above tables clearly distinguish the student from the non-student in very significant ways. More than one-third of the non-students (37.7%), compared to only 5.0% of the students, indicate their fathers do or would "approve" of their decision or desire to drop out of school. Similarly, 41.0% of the non-students, compared to just 6.9% of the students, indicate their mothers do or would "approve" of such a decision or desire. While, as in the earlier case of Secondaire I (1974), the dominant parental reaction is one of disapproval (mild or strong objection), once again, the proportion of parents of the students virtually doubles that of the non-students. As Table 114 shows, 81.7% of the students, compared to 36.0% of the non-students, indicate their fathers' reaction is or would be one of strong or mild "objection" to their decision or desire to quit school. In like fashion, Table 115 reveals that 85.6% of the students, compared to 45.9% of the non-students, feel their mothers do or would "object" (strongly or mildly) to such a decision or desire. More than one-fifth of the non-students (21.3%) to less than one-tenth of the students (8.4%) feel their fathers are or would be "indifferent" to their dropping out of school, while 9.8% of the non-students to 5.8% of the students feel their mothers are or would be "indifferent" to such a move. The effects of parental stress (father and mother) remain constant irrespective of sex, ethnic origin, father's education, and father's occupation.

THE SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT AND EXPERIENCE

Academic Performance

> "Failing a subject or a year in school can have an important impact on the career plans of an adolescent. This is so because of the connection that exists between success in high school and admission to a post-secondary school or finding a good job. It is not surprising, then, to find that the students who have experienced failure in the past year have lower educational aspirations than those who have not".
>
> (Breton 1972: 195)

Achievement commitment, as manifested in the individual's desire to succeed in school, has been amply demonstrated in this study in terms of the respondent's academic performance. At every stage in our analysis, academic performance has emerged as a significant factor in the student/non-student differential. Our findings are thus quite consistent with those already cited in the literature which show a strong correlation between academic performance and educational aspiration. Table 116 contains the data for Secondaire V (1974), and once again, a familiar response pattern emerges: as the grade categories decrease, the proportion of non-students to students sharply increases.

TABLE 116

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Academic Performance (in 1974)

Status 1974	75%+ (A's-B's)	65-74% (B's-C's)	60-64% (C's-D's)	50-59% (D's-E's)	-50% (E's)	n:
Students	38.4	49.5	11.3	0.6	0.2	487
Non-Stud.	18.3	65.0	8.3	8.3	0	60

p <. 001

As illustrated in the above table, the data show that more than twice the proportion of students (38.4%) to non-students (18.3%) indicate their most recent grades are A's and B's ("among the best"), while conversely, at the other extreme, 8.3% of the non-students to 0.8% of the students report their grades to be D's and E's ("below average" or "among the poorest"). While a majority of both categories of respondents report their most recent grades to be either "above average" (B's-C's) or "average" (C's-D's), the proportion of non-students (73.3%) well exceeds that of the students (60.8%). Significant student/non-student differences remain constant irrespective of sex and ethnic origin.

Guidance-Counselling

In his analysis of "The Relationship of Counselling and Guidance Activities to Career Decision-Making", Breton (1972: 333) states the following:

> "Considerable activity is carried out in the schools to help students find their place in the educational system and occupational structure. Some of it aims at diffusing

> information that can be useful for career decision-making; or it may be advisory in nature to assist the adolescent in the solution of a particular vocational problem."

Our investigation of the effects of guidance-counselling on the educational intentions of our adolescent respondents has hitherto yielded no significant student/non-student differences. Interestingly enough, however, the "guidance" variable, which thus far has been either of little or no significance, or entirely latent, surfaces in the present instance (Secondaire V - 1974) as a significant factor in the student/non-student distinction. Such considerations as the adolescent's awareness of guidance-counselling services, the accessibility of such services, and the diffusion of guidance-counselling information, may account in some way for the impact of guidance-counselling at this particular juncture (collegial-level) in the educational process. Our findings on the "guidance" variable are presented in Tables 117-119.

> "Since starting your CEGEP (or equivalent) studies, did you have one or more meetings with a guidance counsellor?"... (student questionnaire)
>
> "Did you speak with a guidance counsellor before you stopped studying on a full-time basis?"... (non-student questionnaire)

TABLE 117

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Guidance Counselling: Consultation (in 1974)

Status 1974	Yes	No	n:
Students	42.2	57.8	486
Non-Students	25.8	74.2	62

p <. 02

From the data displayed above, it can be seen that a sizeable majority of both categories of respondents have not consulted with a guidance counsellor either since starting their collegial studies, or prior to termination of their collegial studies. Such, however, is the case among close to three-quarters of the non-students (74.2%), compared to 57.8% of the students. Conversely, 42.2% of the students, compared to just over one-quarter of the non-students (25.8%) confirm they have at least had one consultation with a guidance counsellor at their CEGEP. Significant student/non-student differences are found among our female respondents, but not among the males; and among our French respondents, but not among the non-French.

Our next area is concerned with the type and nature of the advice given by the guidance counsellor. Table 118 contains responses to the question:

"What kind of advice did he/she give you?"

TABLE 118

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Guidance Counselling: Counsellor's Advice (in 1974)

Status 1974	Continue Present Studies	Undertake Other Studies	Discontinue Present Studies	No Such Advice	n:
Students	42.8	4.9	1.0	51.5	206
Non-Students	31.3	0	12.5	56.3	16

p <. 02

Of immediate interest in Table 118 is the fact that more than one-half of the students (51.5%) as well as the non-students (56.3%) maintain they were not given "any advice like this", i.e., any of the alternatives presented in the questionnaire. Unfortunately, no other alternatives were listed, nor were the respondents asked to specify further. On the other hand, close to one-half of the students (47.7%) were advised to continue their present studies or undertake some other (unspecified)kind of studies, while such is the case among fewer than one-third of the non-students (31.3%). The effects of guidance counsellor's advice remain constant when controlling for sex, ethnic origin, father's education and occupation.

Our final measure of the impact of guidance-counselling on educational intentions deals with the respondent's assessment or evaluation of the information he/she received from the guidance counsellor. Table 119 contains responses to the question:

> "Which of the following statements best describes the outcome of your most recent meeting(s) with the guidance counsellor?"

TABLE 119

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Guidance Counselling: Evaluation of Counsellor's Advice (in 1974)

Status 1974	Advice Helped Make Up Mind	Advice Not Much Use	Advice Redundant	Advice Confusing	Advice Incorrect	n:
Students	39.9	23.2	28.1	6.9	2.0	203
Non-Stud.	47.1	29.4	5.9	0	17.6	17

$p < .01$

As Table 119 indicates, close to one-half of the non-students (47.1%), compared to a little more than one-third of the students (39.9%) feel that the guidance counsellor had given them information that helped them to make up their mind, while more than one-half of the students (51.3%), compared to just over one-third of the non-students (35.3%) feel that the guidance counsellor had given them information that was either redundant or not of much use. In addition, 17.6% of the non-students, to just 2.0% of the students, feel the advice given them by the guidance counsellor was incorrect. Significant student/non-student differences remain constant when controlling for ethnic origin, father's education and occupation. Significant differences are found among the male respondents, but not among the females.

SELF-PERCEPTION AND LIFE-ORIENTATION

PERCEPTION OF SELF AND ORIENTATION TO LIFE

Orientations to Life

In our examination of self-perception and life-orientations, as factors in the educational intentions of our adolescent respondents, we have observed a strong relationship between one's ideals (aspirations) and the manner in which one conceives the actual (the empirical world). One's conception of the temporal world has thus been shown to be an important variable in the consideration of the plans he formulates and in the aspirations he holds. Since, however, not all individuals have the same perception of the temporal world, and since not all individuals accord the same importance to the various moments in their life experiences, three distinct orientation-to-life profiles were discerned: present-oriented (immediate gratification); past-oriented (vicarious gratification); and future-oriented (deferred gratification). Our research has further shown clear-cut student/non-student distinctions in terms of the three orientation-to-life profiles. Our underlying assumption has been that the adolescent's attitudes and orientations to life, especially vis-a-vis education and occupation, are manifested in the structure of his past and present experiences, as well as in his relationship to the future, and that these sets of factors are interrelated. As Breton (1972: 3) notes:

> "... the adolescent's present experience is not independent of his social origin, but is shaped considerably by the formal and informal structures of school and community. His expectations about the future are partly a function of his social background and of his experience with his peers and in the school, but they are also a function of how he integrates the various background, experiential, and environmental factors that constitute his own individual biography".

In the present Secondaire V (1974) context, we have again assessed the orientations-to-life profiles of our respondents in terms of two measures of each temporal orientation. Results are illustrated in Tables 120 to 122.

Present-Oriented

Concern with the present, and enjoyment of the present constitute our two indices of orientation-to-the present. Tables 120 and 121 contain responses to the following statements:

> "with things as they are today, an intelligent person ought to think only about the present, without worrying about what is going to happen tomorrow".
>
> "it is best to enjoy the present without bothering too much about anything else".

TABLE 120

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Importance of the Present (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	3.0	24.9	59.0	13.1	473
Non-Stud.	11.5	32.8	37.7	18.0	61

p <. 001

TABLE 121

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: Enjoyment of the Present (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	5.9	30.1	49.2	14.8	488
Non-Students	13.1	39.3	42.6	4.9	61

$p <. 02$

As already observed at the earlier stages of this study, as well as in the present instance, significantly greater proportions of non-students than students tend to be present-oriented, i.e., concerned essentially with immediate gratification, importance of the present, and enjoyment of the present. Table 120 reveals that 44.3% of the non-students to 27.9% of the students, subscribe ("agree" or "strongly agree") to the proposition about the importance of and concern with the present, while conversely, close to three-quarters of the students (72.1%), compared to 55.7% of the non-students, reject ("disagree" or "strongly disagree") with the above proposition. Likewise, as to enjoyment of the present, a similar pattern of response was discerned. Table 121 shows that more than one-half of the non-students (52.4%), compared to just over one-third of the students (36.0%) subscribe to the proposition about enjoyment of the present, while conversely, 64.0% of the students to 47.5% of the non-students "disagree" or "strongly disagree" with such a proposition.

Past-Oriented

Idealization of the past, and valorization of the past constitute our two indices of orientation-to-the past. Throughout this study, our earlier findings on orientation-to-life have shown that greater proportions of non-students to students tend to be past-oriented, i.e., concerned with vicarious gratification through idealization of and valorization of the past. While the Secondaire V (1974) results on this variable are not statistically significant in terms of the student/non-student distinction, they do, nevertheless, run in the direction of our general hypothesis that the non-student's self-image, role expectations, and educational/occupational orientations are considerably different from those of the student.

Future-Oriented

Concern/unconcern over the future constitutes our sole index of orientation-to-the future in the context of the Secondaire V (1974) analysis. Table 125 contains the responses to the statement:

> "why worry about the future, things always work out in the end".

TABLE 122

Educational Orientations (in 1974) by Orientation to Life: No Concern about the Future (in 1974)

Status 1974	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	n:
Students	5.1	21.1	48.0	25.7	487
Non-Students	8.2	34.4	44.3	13.1	61

$p < .05$

Consistent with our earlier findings on future orientation, Table 122 reconfirms that greater proportions of students than non-students tend to be oriented toward the future, i.e., concerned with deferred gratification in the organization of their lives. While, in the above table, a majority of both categories of respondents "disagree" or "strongly disagree" with the proposition of no concern over the future, the proportion of students (73.7%) well exceeds that of the non-students (57.4%). Conversely, 42.6% of the non-students to 26.2% of the students, subscribe to the proposition regarding the future, indicating an unconcern or a disregard for such matters.

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RESUME

RESUME

A number of variables, earlier observed as significant in distinguishing the student from the non-student, continue to exert a strong effect on the educational intention of our adolescent respondents, all of whom at this juncture (1974) had either successfully or unsuccessfully completed first year collegial. The most salient of such variables found in 1974 were educational aspirations and expectations; parental stress; academic performance; guidance counselling; and orientation to life. Our major findings are summarized as follows:

1) Educational aspirations, consistent with all previous findings in this study, continue to be strongly associated with educational intentions. More than double the proportion of students (68.8%) to non-students (27.8%) desire to achieve a university education, while conversely, more than one-quarter of the non-students (27.9%) to a mere 2.9% of the students, express the wish to terminate their education prematurely.

2) Educational expectations, like educational aspirations, reflect a recurrent pattern of responses found earlier, and continue to be strongly associated with adolescent educational orientations. Our data show that three out of five students (59.1%), compared to one out of three non-students (36.3%), actually expect to acquire a university education.

3) Parental stress, as manifested in the reactions of fathers and mothers to the desire or decision of their child to drop out of school, continues to be a significant factor associated with adolescent educational intention. Consistent with our earlier findings in this regard, the 1974 data show that more than four-fifths of the students (81.7%), compared to just over one-third of the non-students (36.0%), indicate the reaction of their fathers would be or is one of "disapproval" (mild or strong objection). Similarly, more than four out of five students (85.6%), compared to less than half of the non-students (45.9%), indicate the reaction of their mothers would be or is one of "disapproval".

Conversely, well over one-third of the non-students (37.7%) to a mere 5.0% of the students indicate their fathers would or have "approved" of their desire or decision to drop out of school, while concerning mother's "approval" of their desire or decision to quit school, 41.0% of the non-students to only 6.9% of the students indicate that such a reaction would be or is the case with them.

4) Academic performance, as the results at every instance have shown, is strongly associated with educational intention and orientation. Once again, in 1974, academic performance emerges as highly significant in the distinction between student and non-student, and the familiar response pattern recurs: as the grade categories decrease, the proportion of non-students to students increases. Our findings for 1974 show that more than twice the proportion of students (38.4%) to non-students (18.3%), report their most recent grades to be in the A's-B's range, i.e., "among the best", while at the other extreme, 8.3% of the non-students, compared to virtually none of the students (0.8%), report their grades to be in the D's-E's range, i.e., "below average" or "among the poorest". Interestingly enough, at this relatively high level of education (second year collegial), the majority of respondents report their grades to be in the B's-C's or C's-D's range, i.e., "above average" or "average", but here the proportion of non-students (73.3%) well exceeds that of the students (60.8%).

5) Guidance-counselling, which hitherto has been either insignificant or latent as a variable affecting educational retention or attrition, surfaces in 1974 as significant in the student/non-student distinction. Our findings are based on a consideration of three dimensions of guidance-counselling: consultation with a guidance counsellor since the commencement of, or prior to the termination of collegial studies; type of advice given to the respondent by the guidance counsellor; and the respondent's assessment of the guidance-counselling. The 1974 data show while the majority of respondents have not met with a guidance counsellor since starting or before stopping their collegial studies, the proportion of non-students (74.2%) well exceeds that of the students (57.8%). Conversely, 42.2% of the students, compared to 25.8% of the non-students, confirm they have had at least

one such meeting or consultation. On the matter of advice, close to one-half of the students (47.7%) were advised to continue with studies, whereas fewer than one-third of the non-students (31.2%) were thus advised, while conversely, 12.5% of the non-students to only 1.0% of the students were advised to discontinue their studies. As for the respondent's assessment of the advice given, 47.1% of the non-students to 39.9% of the students consider the advice as helpful in making up their minds, while 29.4% of the non-students to 23.2% of the students find the advice of "not much use". It is of further interest to note that 17.6% of the non-students to just 2.0% of the students feel the information or advice given them was "incorrect".

6) Orientations to life, the dimensions of which are manifested in the structure of past and present experiences, as well as in relationships to the future, were considered as important variables in the explanation of an individual's behaviour, including, in the context of this study, educational intentions and orientations. Our 1974 results further substantiate our earlier findings in this regard. The data show that considerably greater proportions of non-students than students tend to be present-oriented, i.e., concerned with immediate gratification through emphasis on and enjoyment of the present; and also to be past-oriented, i.e., concerned with vicarious gratification through idealization of the past. As for orientations to the future, significantly greater proportions of students than non-students tend to be future-oriented, i.e., concerned with deferred gratification, and with the organization of their lives in terms of the future.

CHAPTER VI

STATISTICAL PROFILE

STATISTICAL PROFILE

(FACTORIAL OVERVIEW)

STATISTICAL PROFILE

Methodological Approach: Research Design

The foregoing analysis of data has utilized the Chi Square (X^2) coefficient as a test of association and significance. The X^2 values were used to test the null hypothesis of no relationship (independence) between a number of selected variables, and as a basis for determining the degree of relationship between those variables. Our findings thus far, therefore, have been based solely on this statistic. However, once dependence has been shown, the usefulness of X^2 is exhausted, and we must accordingly resort to a more high-powered and sophisticated statistical analysis in order to determine the relative strength of the observed associations among the variables tested. By way of summary, therefore, and in an effort to obtain increased precision and prediction, our attention now turns to the area of multivariate analysis, and in particular to two statistical techniques: factor analysis, and multiple discriminant analysis.

Factor Analysis: Rationale

Factor analysis involves a technique which can be used to take a large number of operational indices and reduce these to a smaller number of conceptual variables. As stated in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (1975: 469):

> "The single most distinctive character of factor analysis is its data-reduction capability. Given an array of correlation coefficients for a set of variables, factor-analytic techniques enable us to see whether some underlying pattern of relationships exists such that the data may be 'rearranged' or 'reduced' to a smaller set of factors or components that may be taken as source variables accounting for the observed interrelations in the data".

The type of factor analysis employed in this study is "principal-component analysis" which, in the words of the SPSS manual, "is a relatively straightforward method of transforming a given set of variables into a new set of composite variables or principal components that are orthogonal (unrelated) to each other". Our factor analysis technique involves three fundamental procedures:

1) preparation of a correlation matrix: product-moment correlation coefficients.
2) extraction of initial factors: exploration of possible data reduction.
3) rotation to a terminal solution: search for simple and interpretable factors.

Discriminant Analysis: Rationale

Discriminant analysis involves a technique which can be used to distinguish statistically between two or more groups of cases. In order to distinguish between the groups, we select a number of discriminating variables that measure characteristics on which the groups are expected to differ. These "groups" are defined by the particular research situation which, in the present instance, we describe as "student" and "non-student".

As stated in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (1975: 435):

> "The mathematical objective of discriminant analysis is to weight and linearly combine the discriminating variables in some fashion so that the groups are forced to be as statistically distinct as possible. In other words, we want to be able to 'discriminate' between the groups in the sense of being able to tell them apart".

We already know, from our earlier analysis of Secondaire I and Secondaire V, that questions relating to educational and occupapational aspirations, family status, the scholastic milieu, peer associations, and self-perception and life-orientation discriminate between our two groups of cases, i.e., between "students" and "non-students". However, since no single issue perfectly discriminates between "student" and "non-student", it is necessary to take several issues and mathematically combine them in order to find a single dimension on which one group is clustered at one end, and the second group at the other end. Discriminant analysis attempts to do this by forming one or more linear combinations of the discriminating variables, called "discriminant functions". Once the discriminant functions have been derived, we are in a position to pursue the two research objectives of this technique: analysis and classification.

Utility and Application

The analysis aspects of discriminant analysis provide several tools for the interpretation of data. Among those described in the SPSS manual are:

> "...statistical tests for measuring the success with which the discriminating variables actually discriminate when combined into discriminant functions".
>
> "Since the discriminant functions can be thought of as the axes of a geometric space, they can be used to study the spatial relationships among the groups".
>
> "...the weighting coefficients can be interpreted much as in multiple regression or factor analysis. In this respect, they serve to identify the variables which contribute most to differentiation along the respective dimension (function)".
>
> (1975: 435-436)

The classification aspect of discriminant analysis comes into use after the initial computation, and serves as a check of the adequacy of our discriminant functions, as described in the SPSS manual (1975: 436):

> "...we can classify the original set of cases to see how many are correctly classified by the variables being used ... classification involves the use of a separate linear combination of the discriminant variables for each group. These produce a probability of membership in the respective group, and the case is assigned to the group with the highest probability".

List-wise deletions and Sample loss

One of the unavoidable "side-effects" encountered in the use of multivariate techniques is that of "list-wise" deletions which result in sample loss. Since multivariate techniques such as factor analysis and discriminant analysis take into account all the variables in a given set, cases with missing or tainted values on any one of those variables are rejected from the analysis, and result in the reduction of the total sample. Thus, in the instance of Secondaire I (1972), our original research subsample of 664 respondents (464 potential students, 200 potential non-students) was even further diminished, due to list-wise deletions, to a subsample of 315 (234 potential students, 81 potential non-students). An overall loss of 347 cases, or roughly 52%. Similarly, in the instance of Secondaire V (1972), our original research subsample of 919 cases (662 potential students, 257 potential non-students) was further reduced, due to list-wise deletions, to a subsample of 547 (423 potential students, 124 potential non-students). An overall loss of 372 cases, or roughly 40%. Likewise, in the instance of Secondaire V (1973), our original research subsample of 901 cases (651 students, 250 non-students) was further diminished, due to list-wise deletions, to a subsample of 557 (421 students, 136 non-students). An overall loss of 344 cases, or roughly 40%.

Very specifically, in another way, list-wise deletions have had a direct affect on the factor analysis of Secondaire V (1973) in the sense that variables relating to educational desires and expectations had to be omitted, even though in the earlier analysis of the data these variables were found to be highly significant in distinguishing between the student and the non-student. The total absence of an educational aspirations/expectations input into the Secondaire V (1973) factor analysis was due to the problem of missing values which is related to the different ways in which those particular variables were worded in the "student" and "non-student" questionnaires. The "non-student" version of the variable relating to educational desires contained, in addition to specific levels of education, a value "other" and a value "I do not want to continue my studies", neither of which had a counterpart in the "student" version of the same variable. Since the value "other" required a written-in response, such responses (nine in all) were read by the computer as missing values. Similarly, all blanks or tainted values (ten in all) were read as missing values. However, the value "I do not want to continue my studies" was also read as a missing value because it neither related to a specific level of educational desire, nor were such respondents asked any further questions relating to level of educational desires. Not surprisingly, therefore, since the questionnaire was geared to non-students (working/not working), 122 out of 250 (48.8%) of the respondents indicated "I do not want to continue my studies" as their response to the question concerning level of educational desire. While we were able to align both versions of the variable for the purposes of cross-tabulations, we could not do so for the purposes of multivariate analysis. The inclusion of a variable with an _a priori_ loss of over 100 cases, given our sample size, would have virtually decimated the sample on the basis of list-wise deletions.

In a similar fashion, the variable relating to educational expectations, contained a value "other" in the "non-student" version. While this value elicited only 18 responses (all read as missing values), over one-half of the respondents (54.4%) did not answer the question at all as it did not apply to them under the circumstances. Nevertheless, the computer read these non-responses (136 out of 250 cases) as missing values. As in the case of educational desires, we were able to align both versions of this variable for purposes of cross-tabulations, but could not use it for purposes of multivariate analysis, as explained above.

FACTOR ANALYSIS RESULTS

In accordance with factor analytic procedures, sets of relevant variables were selected from each cohort and each time interval under investigation. Our selection was composed of those variables which, in the original analysis of the data, clearly distinguished between our two categories of respondents, and showed X^2 values at the $<.001$ level of significance. In the case of Secondaire I (1972), a set of 29 such variables was selected. In the case of Secondaire V (1972), a set of 35 such variables was chosen, and in the case of Secondaire V (1973), a set of 20 relevant variables was selected. Through the techniques of factor analysis (already described), the respective sets of relevant variables were "rearranged" or "reduced" into matrices of four, five, and six factors. On the basis of the degree of variance explained by each final matrix (terminal solution), we have determinated that a four-factor matrix was most appropriate for the Secondaire I analysis, and that a five-factor matrix was most appropriate for the Secondaire V analysis at both time intervals. The results of the factor analysis are thus presented below in the following concise and condensed form:

SECONDAIRE I (1972)

Factor 1	Family Status
Factor 2	Occupational Concerns
Factor 3	The School (academic aspect)
Factor 4	Orientation-to-Life

To elaborate further, the following variables, on the basis of their correlation coefficients (factor loadings), are considered to be strong indices of the four Secondaire I (1972) factors:

Variables	Factor Loadings
Factor 1: Family Status	
father's education	.61
family community of residence	.50
mother's education	.47
family size	.46
Factor 2: Occupational Concerns	
not having good enough grades	.70
not having gone far enough in school	.64
not having influential people	.48
Factor 3: The School (academic aspect)	
academic performance	.58
perception of self as student	.54
parental reaction to grades	.49
Factor 4: Orientation-to-Life	
no concern over future	.61
enjoyment of the present	.60
importance of the present	.54

SECONDAIRE V (1972)

Factor 1	Educational Aspirations
Factor 2	Family Status
Factor 3	Self-Perception and Life-Orientation
Factor 4	The School (academic aspect)
Factor 5	Occupational Aspirations

To elaborate further, the following variables, on the basis of their correlation coefficients (factor loadings), are considered to be strong indices of the five Secondaire V (1972) factors:

Variables	Factor Loadings
Factor 1: Educational Aspirations	
educational desires	.86
educational expectations	.73
program of studies	.42
Factor 2: Family Status	
family size	.53
father's education	.50
family community of residence	.49
mother's education	.44
ethnic origin	.41
Factor 3: Self-Perception and Life-Orientation	
doubtful of success in life	.57
optimistic about the future	.52
lack of confidence in self	.49
Factor 4: The School (academic aspect)	
perception of self as student	.62
academic performance	.59
educational attainment difficulties	.40
Factor 5: Occupational Aspirations	
occupational expectations	.51
occupational desires	.51
sex	.47

SECONDAIRE V (1973)

Factor 1	Family Status
Factor 2	Peer Associations (in school)
Factor 3	Orientation-to-Life
Factor 4	Peer Associations (not in school)
Factor 5	The School (educational goals)

To elaborate further, the following variables, on the basis of their correlation coefficients (factor loadings), are considered to be strong indices of the five Secondaire V (1973) factors:

Variables	Factor Loadings
Factor 1: Family Status	
father's education	.64
father's occupation	.63
father's income	.57
Factor 2: Peer Associations (in school)	
status of best friends this year: students	.71
status of best friends last year: students	.64
Factor 3: Orientation-to-Life	
sense of powerlessness and pessimism	.48
sense of confusion and unclarity	.47
Factor 4: Peer Associations (not in school)	
status of best friends this year: non-students	.58
status of best friends last year: non-students	.53
Factor 5: The School (educational goals)	
goal of school: intellectual maturity	.48

SYNOPSIS OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

Introduction

We have, up to this point, summarized our findings relating to each variable at the end of the appropriate section. In the present chapter, therefore, we undertake, by way of summation and implication, to review our major findings, as well as other items of significance and relevance in the data.

Our endeavour in this study has been to examine some of the salient social and cultural factors which tend to differentiate those adolescents who continue their studies to the successful completion of school at the secondary and collegial levels from those who discontinue or terminate their studies without the successful completion of their formal education. Our aim has been to ascertain what major social conditions and environmental factors are involved in retention in or withdrawal from the scholastic milieu. In this regard, our research has focused upon five areas of investigation: educational aspirations; family status; the school; peer influences; and self-perception and life-orientation.

The above areas of investigation constitute the independent variables in this study, and in order to remain within the confines of manageable empirical proportions, testable hypotheses, pertinent to each area of investigation, were formulated accordingly:

Aspirations:

The higher the socioeconomic status of the family, the higher the level of education the parents desire for their children.

The higher the level of education the parents desire for their children, the more positive will be the child's evaluation of education.

The more negative the child's educational value, the lower his or her educational aspirations.

Family Status:

The family "educational pattern" of the non-student will be less conducive to educational retention than that of the student.

The larger the community of family residence, the more the likelihood of high educational intention.

There is an inverse relationship between family size and educational intentions. The smaller the family, the greater the tendency toward high educational intention.

The School Context:

The programme of studies in which the adolescent is enrolled will have far-reaching consequences for his or her future education. Those enrolled in academic programmes will have higher aspirations than those enrolled in non-academic programmes.

The academic performance of the non-student will be considerably below that of the student.

The non-student's participation in extra-curricular activities will be considerably less than that of the student.

Peer Influences:

The non-student, much more than the student, will tend to experience peer associations that define scholastic pursuit as unfavourable.

> The non-student will tend to have close friends who are not academically-oriented or whose level of educational aspiration is low.
>
> The non-student will tend to have brothers or sisters who are not academically-oriented or whose level of educational aspiration is low.

Self-perception and Life-orientation:

> The self-image of the non-student, as well as his role-expectations and educational/occupational orientation, will differ from that of the student.
>
> The more positive an adolescent's evaluation of the future, the more likely he is to desire and anticipate the achievement of a high level of education.
>
> The non-student, to a far greater extent than the student, will manifest a sense of self-dissatisfaction, will lack self-confidence and self-esteem and a sense of personal efficacy.

SECONDAIRE I (1972) ANALYSIS

Interpretation of the Data

Utilization of factor analytic techniques has produced distinct factor configurations for each of our three research subsamples. In order to facilitate our discussion and interpretations, we shall illustrate the results in the form of separate and concise tables, respectively, for Secondaire I (1972), Secondaire V (1972), and Secondaire V (1973), as follows:

TABLE 123

Factor Analysis of Secondaire I (1972)

Factor Label	% Variance	Variable Description	Loading
FAMILY STATUS	61.3%	father's education	.61
		educational expectations *	.60
		educational desires *	.60
		community of residence	.50
		mother's education	.47
		size of family	.46
		occupational expectations *	.42
		occupational desires *	.40
OCCUPATIONAL CONCERNS	16.2%	lack of good enough grades	.70
		not gone far enough in school	.64
		not knowing influential people	.48
THE SCHOOL (academic)	11.9%	occupational desires *	.61
		academic performance	.58
		occupational expectations *	.57
		perception of self as student	.54
		parental reaction to grades	.49
		educational desires *	.46
		educational expectations *	.42
ORIENTATION-TO-LIFE	10.5%	concern about the future	.61
		enjoyment of the present	.60
		concern about the present	.54

* variable loads on more than one factor (refer to rotated matrix)

As can be discerned from the foregoing presentation of the data, the factor analysis of Secondaire I (1972) has produced a four-factor configuration, with "family status" emerging, by far, as the most dominant factor at this level of scolarité, accounting for an overwhelming proportion of the total variance (61.3%). Our "family status" factor is defined in terms of four variables or indices, the factor loadings of which, are shown in parentheses, as follows: father's education (.61), family's community of residence (.50), mother's education (.47), and family's size (.46). Not surprisingly, and for rather obvious reasons, four other variables or indices were found to have high factor loadings on the "family" factor, as well as on the "school" factor. Attention here is drawn to: educational expectations (.60), educational desires (.60), occupational expectations (.42), and occupational desires (.40). These findings, we suggest, reinforce our contention that, regardless of other factors involved, the family is of critical importance as a determinant of adolescent educational orientations and intentions. The results substantiate our earlier findings in support of the general hypothesis that the background, structure, and organization of the student's family are different from those of the non-student's.

Our investigation of the family of orientation was based on the premise that certain behavioural patterns were established primarily by early experience in the family context, including, of course, educational and occupational orientations. Our conclusion thus concurs with that of Breton (1972: 73) who notes that a person's "basic orientations toward life, his values, and the way he copes with life's problems are acquired in the family". In a similar vein, Tepperman (1975: 180-181), in a discussion of Breton's research maintains that the main family influences on adolescent educational and occupational aspirations include:

> "... the development of a sense of competence, generally high aspirations, and a belief that many opportunities for advancement are available. The focal variable in developing childhood aspirations is social class -- the occupational status and educational attainment -- of a child's parents. Parents with white-collar occupations and high (e.g., post-secondary) educational training will more often than other parents hold high aspirations

> for their children. They will also be more likely to believe in the existence of many opportunities for advancement, as is reasonable for people with high educational attainment. But these parents will not only believe in such opportunities and transmit this belief to their children: they will also make opportunities for their children". (pp. 180-181)

Tepperman, in his use of the "make opportunities" concept, alludes to Dumont's (1890) notion of "social capillarity" which the early French sociologist employed, by way of analogy, to describe the connection between social mobility and family size. According to the Dumont thesis, children from smaller families tend to rise higher than children from larger families of the same social class. Parents can thus utilize their resources with greater effectiveness to educate their children and establish them in life if there are fewer who require such assistance. With this idea in mind, Tepperman concludes:

> "Higher class parents 'make opportunities' for their children in various ways... By having smaller families, higher class families increase the likelihood of 'social capillarity'... By settling in the urban centres of Canada - Ontario and Quebec - parents increase the number and variety of jobs available to themselves and their children, and the number and variety of schools that will train their children for desirable jobs". (p. 181)

In our earlier analysis of Secondaire I (1972), the initial findings pertaining to family of orientation revealed clear-cut student/non-student distinctions in terms of the variables of father's education, mother's education, rural-urban residence, and number of children in the family. Significantly greater proportions of students than non-students came from families in which father's and mother's educational attainment was post-secondary or higher; from families with four or fewer children, self-included; and from large, urban, metropolitan communities. Other variables, such as father's occupational status, while low in terms of factor loading, was also found to distinguish the student from the non-student at a high level of statistical significance.

The occurrence of strong correlations (factor loadings) between the indices of educational and occupational aspirations and the "family" factor is not surprising. As Forcese (1972: 68), among others, has observed:

> "Research in Canada has confirmed that aspirations are principally a function of the social class level of one's family, and rural versus urban residence -- not altogether unrelated factors. (Siemens, 1965; Pike, 1970; Breton, 1972; Rocher, 1975). Thus, one is more likely to aspire to and expect to achieve a university degree if one comes from a middle or upper-class family as opposed to a lower-class family. Conversely, one is more likely to wish and expect to drop out of the educational system before completing high school, or immediately upon completion, if one comes from a lower-class family as opposed to a middle-class family".

As our own study has shown, consistently and repeatedly throughout, significantly greater proportions of students than non-students desired to achieve (ideal) and expected to attain (actual) collegial and university levels of education. Similarly, significantly greater proportions of students than non-students desired to achieve (ideal) and expected to attain (actual) the more prestigious, high-status types of occupation and profession, in turn, a reflection of their educational aspirations.

Much of the foregoing presentation pertaining to the "family" factor has relevance for and is applicable to the three remaining factors of Secondaire I (1972). Our discussion, therefore, now turns to a consideration of "occupational concerns", "the school", and "orientation-to-life" which, respectively, explain 16.2%, 11.9%, and 10.5% of the total variation in the indices.

Our second factor, that of "occupational concerns", accounts for 16.2% of the total variance, and is defined in terms of three indices: lack of good grades (.70), not having gone far enough in school (.64), and not knowing influential people (.48). As we have noted elsewhere in this study, anxiety over future employment, as well as perceived difficulties in attaining one's desired occupation, are associated with one's educational and occupational intentions and orientations. Our findings in this regard are quite consistent with those of Breton (1972) who found that "a student's expectations about the future are related to the experience of vocational decision-making difficulties. A considerable amount of literature indicates that expectancy variables are also associated with achievement-related behaviours". Earlier we referred to these indices as "expectancy" variables in the sense that they assess the extent to which the respondent is anxious or apprehensive vis-a-vis future occupational prospects. Our findings show significant student/non-student differences in terms of academic record, educational adequacy, and good "connections". Since an adolescent's educational intentions are part of a configuration of attitudes, self-evaluations, and self in relation to the future, our factor analysis results lend further credence to the hypothesis that the more positive an adolescent's evaluation of the future, the more likely he or she is to desire and anticipate the achievement of a high level of education.

The third factor affecting the educational orientation and intentions of our Secondaire I (1972) respondents is that of the school context and experience (academic aspect). By way of résumé and recapitulation, we reiterate our earlier statements regarding the scholastic milieu as an area of vital interest and concern to the present research. We have here considered the school context as an extension of the adolescent's background characteristics. As Breton (1972: 187) notes in his discussion of academic experience and educational plans:

> "In addition to the family background and the personality characteristics of the adolescent, it is reasonable to expect that the school experience and context have some bearing on the student's plans. It is difficult to argue that what happens to him in school, how well he does academically, his relationship with teachers and his particular curriculum -- to mention only a few aspects of school activities and organization -- are without relevance for his education and intentions".

We reiterate our earlier view that the school context consists of two subsystems: the formal (academic/administrative) and the informal (non-academic/social). The former comprises the "official" values of the adult community, while the latter incorporates the values of the youth culture with its own norms and goals. Success in the formal system is defined in terms of academic achievement, while in the informal system, it is defined in terms of social activities.

As Table 123 shows, the "school" factor in the Secondaire I (1972) analysis accounts for 11.9% of the total variance, and is defined in terms of three indices: academic performance (.58), perception of self as student (.54), and parental reaction to grades (.49). As in the case of the "family" factor, and for reasons already stated, we note the high factor loadings on the "school" factor of the following indices: occupational desires (.61), occupational expectations (.57), educational desires (.46), and educational expectations (.42).

Achievement commitment, as manifested in the individual's desire to succeed in school, has been amply demonstrated in this study in terms of the respondent's academic performance. At every stage in our analysis, academic performance has emerged as a significant factor in the student/non-student differential. Our findings are thus quite consistent with those already cited in the literature which show a strong correlation between academic performance and educational aspiration, and confirm even moreso our hypothesis that the academic performance of the non-student will tend to be significantly below that of the student. Similarly, with respect to perception of self as student, significantly greater proportions of non-students than students consistently rated themselves (vis-à-vis others) as "just average", "below average" or "among the poorest". Here, too, the factor analysis results further susbstantiate our hypothesis that the self-image of the non-student, as well as his role-expectations, and educational/occupational orientations, will differ significantly from those of the student.

Achievement press (as manifested in parental reaction to their child's grades), and parental pressure to continue one's studies are seen here as extensions of and reinforcers of the academic aspects of school. As we have stated in an earlier portion of this study, parental attitudes towards education and their effect on the child's academic progress, constitute one of the dimensions of "family" culture. Allen (1965) has shown that the child's educational attainment is highly correlated with that of the parents, and that siblings within the same family tend to leave school at about the same age or grade level. The influence of parental pressure on the educational plans of their children has been amply demonstrated in the literature (Berdie, 1954; Simpson, 1962; Bell, 1963; Bordua, 1964). Dave (1963), in a study on the environment effects on educational achievement, found that intellectual and academic orientation within the home environment can combine to create either positive or negative influences which affect the child's behavioural patterns in school. Achievement press (parental pressure to achieve in school) emerged as one of the major factors in the Dave Study. Our own results are consistent with those obtained in the earlier researches, and show that significantly greater proportions of non-students than students acknowledged they would give up their studies were it not for parental pressure to continue. Similarly, significantly greater proportions of non-students than students had encountered negative parental reactions ("do nothing", "criticize", "punish") in response to unsatisfactory grades.

One further index of the academic experience was the respondent's view of the "justification" or "rationalization" given by others for the desire to drop out of school. Here, too, significantly greater proportions of non-students than students concurred with such "justification" on the supposition that school "is not where you learn the things you really need to know".

Much of what we have said in reference to the occurrence of strong correlations (factor loadings) between the indices of educational and occupational aspirations and the "family" factor, is applicable to and has relevance for the occurrence of strong correlations (factor loadings) between those same indices and the "school" factor. We have, throughout this study, defined aspirations in terms of three inter-related dimensions: ideal desires, actual expectations, and achievement commitment. Our findings have consistently shown that one's ideal desires vis-à-vis educational/occupational aspirations have an influence on and are indicators of one's actual behaviour. Furthermore, achievement commitment, as manifested in the individual's endeavour and desire to achieve "good" grades in school, has been concretely demonstrated in terms of academic performance. In a discussion on the role of the school as a determinant of occupational choice, Tepperman (1975: 178) states further that:

> "The role of the school in establishing an occupational preference has been widely discussed in the last decade, for it has been shown that occupational status and intergenerational mobility in North America are largely dependent on educational attainment (Blau and Duncan, 1967). Father's social class or ethnic origin has little influence on occupational attainment for males who have attained the same level of education. Stated

> otherwise, mobility is more dependent upon achieved than ascribed status in North America, and educational attainment is a decisive influence on the extent of intergenerational mobility. Since education is crucial, whatever influences student aspirations will be of major importance in explaining the total amount of mobility in a society".

Our own findings have shown over and over again that significantly greater proportions of students than non-students have higher levels of educational and occupational aspiration, and concomitantly, have achieved higher levels of academic performance.

The final factor to emerge in our analysis of Secondaire I (1972), that of "orientation-to-life", accounts for 10.5% of the total variance, and is defined in terms of three indices: concern about the future (.61), enjoyment of the present (.60), and importance of the present (.54). The significance of "life-orientation" as a factor strengthens our earlier findings which showed a relationship between one's ideals in life (desires, intentions, aspirations) and the manner in which one related to the actual (the temporal, empirical world). One's conception of the temporal world was seen as an important variable in the consideration of the plans one formulates and in the aspirations one holds. The adolescent's attitudes and orientations to life, especially those vis-à-vis education and occupation, were seen as manifestations of the structure of his or her past and present experience, as well as his or her relationship to the future. We again refer to Breton (1972: 3) in this regard:

> "... an adolescent's career development and, more specifically, his intentions and decisions with respect to his future career, depend on three interrelated sets of factors: his social origin; his present experience; and his attitudes (expectations, sense of efficacy) and preparedness (information, competence to deal with organizational environments) with respect to the future".

It was noted earlier in this study that not all individuals held the same perception of the temporal world, nor did they accord the same importance to the various moments in their lives. Accordingly, among our respondents, three distinct orientation-to-life profiles were discerned: present-oriented (immediate gratification); past-oriented (vicarious gratification); and future-oriented (deferred gratification). Our findings throughout were consistent: significantly greater proportions of non-students than students tended to be present-oriented, i.e., concerned with immediate gratification in terms of enjoyment of the present and importance of the present. Conversely, significantly greater proportions of students than non-students tended to be future-oriented, i.e., concerned with deferred gratification and the organization of their lives in terms of the future.

SECONDAIRE V (1972) ANALYSIS

Introduction

Having accomplished the factor analysis of Secondaire I (junior high school respondents), our attention now shifts to the factor analysis results of Secondaire V (senior high school respondents) at the first (1972) and second (1973) time intervals. As was to be expected, different factor configurations to that of Secondaire I were obtained in the analysis of Secondaire V. For the purposes of interpretation and discussion, we shall commence with the (1972) configuration, and proceed to that of (1973). Accordingly, the results of the (1972) analysis are illustrated in Table 124, as follows:

TABLE 124
Factor Analysis for Secondaire V (1972)

Factor Label	% Variance	Variable Description	Loading
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS	41.3%	educational desires	.86
		educational expectations	.73
		program of studies	.42
FAMILY STATUS	18.2%	family size	.53
		father's education	.49
		community of residence	.49
		mother's education	.44
PERCEPTION OF SELF	16.0%	doubtful of success in life	.57
		pessimistic about the future	.52
		lack of confidence in self	.49
THE SCHOOL (academic)	12.8%	self-rating as student	.62
		academic performance	.59
		difficulties in attainment	.40
OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS	11.7%	occupational expectations	.51
		occupational desires	.51

The factor analysis of Secondaire V (1972), as illustrated in Table 124, reveals a five-factor configuration, with "educational aspirations" as the dominant factor at this level of scolarité, accounting for 41.3% of the total variance. At the same time, we note that "occupational aspirations", the fifth factor, accounts for 11.7% of the total variance. Thus, among our respondents at the senior high school level, "aspirations" (educational and occupational) emerge as the single most important factor, accounting for more than one-half (53.0%) of the total variance. Our "educational aspirations" factor is defined in terms of three indices: educational desires (.86), educational expectations (.73), and program of studies (.42). Our "occupational aspirations" factor is defined in terms of two indices: occupational desires (.51), and occupational expectations (.51).

We have noted earlier, in our review of the literature, that research abounds with allusions to the emergence of aspirations early in life. Of particular relevance to this study, in terms of our own findings, are two recent works by Canadian researchers. Tepperman (1975: 166) declares that aspirations:

> "... are generated very early in life... Certainly they develop in the parental home and become channelled and specified, encouraged or discouraged, in secondary school if not before. These aspirations may be very general, or may change a number of times within a relatively limited variety of choices".

On attitudes and expectations vis-à-vis educational and occupational "success", Forcese (1975: 68) writes:

> "... young people's attitudes towards educational and occupational achievement influence actual behaviour and serve as indicators of actual behaviour. Thus the level of education to which a boy or girl aspires or expects to achieve, and the kind of job aspired to and expected, affect the extent of education and kind of job actually obtained. But....these aspirations are not randomly distributed in the population. Rather, stated aspirations are indicative of and correlated with social class".

Our own data have revealed a consistent and recurrent pattern throughout this entire study: significantly greater proportions of students than non-students desired to achieve and actually expected to attain high levels of formal education (collegial and university), and concomitantly, desired and expected to attain more prestigious, high-status jobs. Such educational/occupational aspirations were, in turn, reflected in the differential student/non-student levels of academic performance. Furthermore, as the factor analysis of Secondaire I shows, among our younger respondents at the junior high school level, educational and occupational aspirations are highly correlated with the "family" factor, and can indeed be seen as functions of the social status of one's family. Among our senior high school respondents (Secondaire V), the analysis accentuates the "aspirations" factor more prominently, but even here, we note that the educational aspirations index loads onto the "family" factor (.40 correlation).

"Family Status" emerges as the second factor in the analysis of Secondaire V (1972) and accounts for 18.2% of the total variance. As in the earlier Secondaire I (1972) analysis, the "family" factor is defined in terms of four indices: family size (.53), father's education (.49), community of residence (.49), and mother's education (.44), as well as the afore-mentioned index of educational expectations (.40). Once again we note the occurrence of a familiar pattern: certain elements of the family's internal structure and their effects on the adolescent's educational intentions. Parental educational attainment, size of the family, community of residence (urban-rural), have been shown to have an impact on the educational/occupational orientations and intentions of their children, and throughout this study have been consistent as significant variables in the student/non-student distinction. Our findings, therefore, concur with all similar studies in that educational orientations are related to the socio-economic background of the individual, and that the adolescent's educational aspirations are strongly influenced by parental values and attitudes about education. Such values and attitudes are transmitted through the process of socialization. Parental values and attitudes vis-à-vis education form the basis of parental aspirations for their children, and are a necessary condition for parental pressure in the direction of continued education. Parental aspirations, in turn, as Hollingshead (1949) has demonstrated, are correlates of socio-economic status, and constitute one of the dimensions of what the author terms "family culture".

A similar idea is Allen's (1956) notion of "family educational pattern". His data showed that the child's educational attainment was highly correlated with that of the parents, and that siblings within the same family tend to leave school at about the same age or grade level. Such a "family educational pattern", Allen contends, is a product of the attitudes and values which parents convey to their children, either explicitly or implicitly, through the process of socialization.

Further support is thus lent to our hypothesis that the "educational pattern" of the non-student's family will be less conducive to educational retention than that of the student's family. The findings also confirm our hypothesis concerning family size, and community of family residence.

The third factor affecting the educational orientations and intentions of our senior high school respondents, that of "self-perception", accounts for 16.0% of the total variance, and is defined in terms of three indices: doubtful of success in life (.57), pessimism about the future (.52), and lack of self-confidence (.49). We have, in this study, postulated that the individual's self-image and orientation-to-life were important variables in the explanation of behaviour, including, in the present context, educational and occupational intentions and plans. Our underlying assumptions were consistent with and extensions of Breton's (1972: 25) who argues:

> "... in making a vocational decision an individual tries to match his personality characteristics with those of the occupational environment. The process entails testing conceptions of self and of self in environment against various features of that environment... The individual's conceptual self-system includes his assessment of his own abilities, interests, and general attitudinal approaches to self (for example, self-esteem) and to life (independence)".

In our initial analysis of the Secondaire V (1972) data, our two categories of respondents were clearly distinguished in terms of the self-perception and life-orientation variables. Significantly greater proportions of non-students than students were doubtful of success in life, were pessimistic about the future, and lacked confidence in themselves and their abilities. The findings thus confirm our hypothesis that the non-student, to a greater extent than the student, will manifest a sense of self-dissatisfaction or doubt; will lack a sense of self-confidence; and will evaluate the future more negatively.

The school context and experience (academic aspect) constitutes the fourth factor in the analysis of our senior high school respondents, and as we have seen throughout, the school experience "only helps to specify and reinforce general attitudes about oneself and the future which have been learned at home". (Tepperman, 1975: 180). In the present case, the "school" factor accounts for 12.8% of the total variance, and is defined in terms of three indices: self-rating as a student (.62), academic performance (.59), and anticipated difficulties in attaining one's desired educational level (.40). Our investigation of the scholastic milieu has dealt with some of the attitudes and behaviours of adolescents in a school context that appear to influence their educational intentions and orientations. At every educational level, our findings have revealed differential student/non-student academic profiles in terms of self-rating as a student (subjective evaluation) and academic performance (objective evaluation). Significantly greater proportions of students than non-students rated themselves as "among the best" or "above average", and at the same time indicated their most recent grades or marks to be mostly "A's and B's" (75% and over) or "B's and C's" (66-74%). Conversely, of course, significantly greater proportions of non-students than students perceived of themselves as just "average", "below average" or "among the poorest", and indicated their most recent grades or marks to be mostly "C's and D's" (60-65%), "D's and E's" (50-59%), or "E's" (under 50%). Further confirmation is thus given to our hypothesis that the academic performance of the non-student will be considerably below that of the student, and that there is an inverse relationship between school experience and the tendency to withdraw from school, i.e., the more positive the experience, the less the desire to discontinue one's education.

We note here that in the factor analysis of Secondaire V (1972), the program of studies variable correlates strongly with the "educational aspirations" factor (.42 loading) to constitute an index of that factor. However, as program of studies actually refers to an aspect of the school as well, we prefer to discuss it in that context. As stated elsewhere in this study, two major types of curriculum were in effect in the Quebec public high school systems at the time of the initial surveys: the General Education Program (academic-orientation) and the Vocational/Professional Program (occupational-orientation). The manifest function of each program of studies may be described as follows: The General Education Program was essentially a college-preparatory curriculum of studies in the traditional matriculation sense, and was intended to be non-terminal. On the other hand, the Vocational/Professional Program was an occupation-oriented course of studies, designed as a functional alternative to the General Program, and intended to be terminal -- either at the conclusion of Secondaire IV or V. While the results of our initial analysis of Secondaire I (1972) were inconclusive due to the fact that our respondents were only in Grade 7 at the time, and such "streaming" decisions are not made until Secondaire III (Grade 9), our findings for Secondaire V (1972) are far more conclusive and decisive, and concur with those of Breton (1972: 190) who maintains that:

> "The programme of study in which a student is registered should be strongly associated with his educational plans -- at least those for post-secondary. Indeed, his high school studies are an integral part of his total educational programme, and the course he enters in secondary school -- usually in his second, if not his first year -- has far-reaching consequences for his future".

"Occupational Aspirations" constitute the final factor in the analysis of Secondaire V (1972), and account for 11.7% of the total variance. However, as our treatment of this factor has, for reasons already stated, been subsumed under our discussion of "educational aspirations", we shall deal with it here in only a brief and cursory manner. Much earlier in this study, we noted that while educational and occupational aspirations were not the same thing, many of the determinants of the former have also been found to be determinants of the latter, as well as other types of aspirations. We further noted Breton's (1972: 229) observation that: "To a great extent, occupational preference and educational intention can be regarded as indicators of the same phenomenon: the level of aspiration; indeed, several empirical and theoretical studies treat them as interchangeable". To reiterate, then,the "occupational aspirations" factor is defined in terms of two indices: occupational desires (.51), and occupational expectations (.51), and at every stage in this study a consistent and recurrent pattern has emerged: significantly greater proportions of students than non-students desired and expected to attain the more prestigious and high-status types of occupation; desired and expected to achieve high levels of formal education; perceived of themselves as excellent or very good students; and were achievement-oriented and achievement-committed in terms of their actual academic performance.

SECONDAIRE V (1973) ANALYSIS

Introduction

Our factor analysis concludes with application to the Secondaire V (1973) data. At this juncture, our respondents are no longer in high school. Those who continued their education (first-year collegial) were classified as "students". Those who discontinued or terminated their studies with the conclusion of high school (working or not working) were classified as "non-students". As can be seen in Table 125, the factor analysis of Secondaire V (1973) has produced a five-factor configuration: family status, peer associations (academic), self-perception, peer associations (non-academic), and the school. We reiterate our earlier remarks concerning the unavoidable "side-effects" encountered in the use of factor analysis, namely, the occurrence of "list-wise" deletions. Very specifically, it is here, in the analysis of Secondaire V (1973) that the "list-wise" deletions have had their most direct effect. For reasons already articulated in the segment on methodological approach, variables relating to educational desires and expectations had to be omitted, even though in the earlier cross-tabulation analysis they were found to be highly significant in distinguishing between student and non-student. Accordingly, therefore, our factor analysis of Secondaire V (1973) is bereft of any educational aspirational input. It is entirely likely, however, that had we been able to enter the variables of educational desires and expectations into our analysis, that "educational aspirations" would have emerged as the most dominant factor among our collegial-level respondents.

TABLE 125

Factor Analysis for Secondaire V (1973)

Factor Label	% Variance	Variable Description	Loading
FAMILY STATUS	38.9%	father's education	.64
		father's occupation	.63
		father's income	.57
PEER ASSOCIATIONS (academic)	23.3%	status of best friends this year	.71
		status of best friends last year	.64
SELF-PERCEPTION	14.9%	sense of powerlessness /pessimism	.48
		sense of confusion /unclarity	.47
PEER ASSOCIATIONS (non-academic)	13.1%	status of best friends this year	.58
		status of best friends last year	.53
THE SCHOOL (educational goals)	9.9%	develop intellectual maturity	.48

Given the absence of an educational aspiration input into the analysis of Secondaire V (1973), family status emerges as the dominant factor, accounting for 38.9% of the total variance. In this instance, the "family" factor is defined in terms of three indices of socio-economic status: father's education (.64), father's occupation (.63), and father's income (.57). We have seen in the course of this and other studies the extent to which family status manifestly and latently influences the educational and occupational aspirations of children, and much of what we have said à propos our younger respondents at the secondary school levels (junior and senior high school) has equal relevance for and is applicable to our older respondents currently (in terms of the survey) at the post-secondary (collegial) level of education. Aspirations, as well as achievements, were seen to be functions of social class, i.e., indicative of and correlated with social class.

Aspirations, while necessary, are not in themselves sufficient, i.e., aspirations are not the only criterion of educational and occupational achievement. Continuation of studies beyond the secondary school level is virtually mandatory for the attainment of an occupation of middle or high status, and such educational continuation tends to be a function of parental social class. In this regard, recent Canadian research (Breton, 1972; Forcese, 1975; Tepperman, 1975) has shown that children of high status parents were over-represented in post-secondary educational institutions. Tepperman (1975: 185) explains this phenomenon not only in terms of differential class-based aspirations, but moreso in terms of parental income as the major determinant of educational choice:

> "Because of the great overrepresentation of middle and upper class children in post-secondary schools, and the greater proportion of these attending P.S.S. than had indicated an intention to do so in the Breton study, we are led to suppose that income is the main determinant of P.S.S. attendance. A sufficiently high parental income allows students who wish it to attend P.S.S. (and then attain a white collar job), while a lower parental income makes aspiration to P.S.S. education and a white collar job impracticable... Not only does parental income influence the likelihood that a student will follow his aspirations to P.S.S.; it also influences the likelihood that a student will enter a P.S.S. program that leads to white collar status".

Among our collegial-level respondents (Secondaire V -1973) as indeed among our respondents at the lower levels of education, the findings were consistent with those obtained in similar studies, including the Canadian research mentioned above. Our results confirm that educational and occupational orientations and intentions of adolescents are related to the socio-economic status of the family, and that, as Breton (1972: 387) states, "family life is an important component of the situation of an adolescent in giving shape to his future career".

The second most important factor affecting the educational intentions of our post-secondary respondents is that of peer associations, which (combined) accounts for 36.4% of the total variance, and consists of two aspects: academic-oriented friendship patterns (friends continue studies), and non-academic friendship patterns (friends terminate studies). We have already seen, at earlier stages of this research, that peer (and sibling) influences clearly and significantly distinguished student from non-student, confirming our hypothesis that there is a difference in the structure and orientations of the student's and non-student's peer associations which can account for the variations in choices of educational tenure.

The importance given to the influence of peers in the sociology of adolescence has been documented elsewhere in this study. Briefly, then, we review the research that most directly pertains to differential student/non-student friendship patterns. According to Stuart (1955), one of the ways in which school leavers and non-leavers differ is that "most of the dropouts" close friends were out of school". Remmers and Radler (1958) found a disdain for school among a large number of adolescents, in that concerns for friendship and popularity far outweighed concern for academic achievement. Haller and Butterworth (1960) concluded that peer interactions affect educational aspirations, but have a weaker effect on occupational aspirations. However, rather than influencing such aspirations, peer interactions were seen as reinforcing already-established orientations. This may well be because students tend to associate with peers of similar levels of educational and occupational aspiration. Elliot and Voss (1974) utilize the notion of "exposure to dropout" (a variation of Sutherland's "differential association") as a necessary variable in the causal chain leading to a student's decision to withdrew from school or discontinue further education. To reiterate:

> "In the home or community a low value may be placed on education. In the community a student may associate with youth who have dropped out of school, and he may have parents or siblings who failed to complete high school. These contacts provide the potential dropout with the opportunity to observe the consequences, both positive and negative, of leaving school and to assess whether dropping out of school will resolve his problems. Further, they may provide some group support -- perhaps even group pressure -- for this action".
>
> (Elliot and Voss, 1974: 34)

In the present Secondaire V (1973) context, differential student/non-student friendship associations were ascertained in terms of a two-year time span: status of best friends this year (1973), and status of best friends last year (1972). Our general findings overall, at every educational level considered, confirm that the educational profiles of one's peers (and siblings) do serve as educational reference models for one's own intentions, and that young people do indeed differ in the extent to which they are committed to such reference models.

"Self-perception" emerges as the third factor in our Secondaire V (1973) analysis, and accounts for 14.9% of the total variance. Two indices define this factor: sense of powerlessness and pessimism (.48), and sense of confusion and unclarity (.47).

In our initial analysis of the data, we noted that Breton (1972) had identified several factors which may enhance or impede educational and occupational decision-making. Particularly appropriate to our own research is Breton's notion of the "conceptual self-system", two components of which, are: conceptions of self and self-in-environment; and attitudinal approaches to self and life. By way of reiteration, we review, in brief, our earlier notation that:

> "The individual's conceptual self-system includes his assessment of his own abilities, interests, and general attitudinal approaches to self (for example, self-esteem) and to life (independence)".
>
> (Breton, 1972: 25)

Our own findings on the "conceptual self-system" variable correspond in a number of ways to those of Breton. In particular, several characteristics cited by Breton as salient -- "ambiguity", "unclarity", "pessimism", "doubtful of success" -- were found to significantly distinguish the student from the non-student in this study, and lend further credence to our general hypothesis that the non-student's self-image, role expectations, and educational/occupational orientations differ from those of the student.

The "school" factor completes our analysis of Secondaire V (1973), and accounts for 9.9% of the total variance. While this factor is defined in terms of one index, ideal goals for an educational institution: intellectual maturity and development of a sense of judgment (.48), we note the close-to-significant correlations (factor loadings) of two "allied" variables on the "school" factor, which are also dimensions of ideal goals for an educational institution: development of a sense of values and patterns of behaviour (.34), and creation of a favourable student environment (.33). Our underlying assumption, in examining the influence of the school upon the individual, has been that just as social class and other social-structural characteristics affect the individual's values, beliefs, attitudes, orientations, etc., so too, do organizational experiences -- in this case -- the school. One dimension we have here considered is concerned with the adolescent's values and ideas vis-à-vis school and education, as expressed in terms of his or her perceptions of what ought to constitute the goals of an educational institution. Our earlier findings showed significant student/non-student distinctions along the "educational goals" variables. Students tend to see such goals in the direction of academic orientation and the development of capacities toward that end; whereas non-students tend to see such goals in the direction of work-orientation and preparation for the employment market.

DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS RESULTS

Prediction Results

Methodologically, the major portion of data analysis in this study consists of crosstabulations and the use of the Chi Square (X^2) coefficient as a test of association and significance. However, in an endeavour to achieve increased measures of precision and prediction, we have also employed more high-powered and sophisticated multivariate techniques: factor analysis, and discriminant analysis. As earlier indicated, factor analysis was utilized as a technique for the reduction of a large number of operational indices to a smaller number of conceptual variables (factors). Having accomplished the factor analysis, we conclude our research with a presentation of the discriminant analysis results.

Discriminant analysis, as a technique to statistically distinguish between two or more groups of cases, enables us to differentiate our two categories of respondents in terms of discriminant variables that measure characteristics on which the "groups" are expected to differ. To recapitulate:

> "The mathematical objective of discriminant analysis is to weight and linearly combine the discriminating variables in some fashion so that the groups are forced to be as statistically distinct as possible. In other words, we want to be able to 'discriminate' between the groups in the sense of being able to tell them apart".
>
> (SPSS Manual, 1975: 435)

In the present context, the factors derived from our factor analysis constitute the discriminating variables. However, since no single issue perfectly discriminates between "student" and "non-student", discriminant analysis takes several issues and mathematically combines them in order to find a single dimension on which one "group" is clustered at one end, and the second "group" at the other end. These linear combinations of discriminating variables, called "discriminant functions", form the basis of discriminant analysis. Once the "discriminant functions" have been computed, we can proceed with the two research objectives of this technique: analysis and classification. For the purposes of the present study, we shall confine our interest to that of classification, which serves as a check of the adequacy of our "discriminant functions":

> "... we can classify the original set of cases to see how many are correctly classified by the variables being used... classification involves the use of a separate linear combination of the discriminant variables for each group. These produce a probability of membership in the respective group, and the case is assigned to the group with the highest probability".
>
> (SPSS Manual, 1975: 436)

Initial computations of the factor analysis data for each respective cohort produced discriminant factor coefficients from which, in turn, discriminant scores were derived, and arranged in frequency distributions. Our final results are now presented in tabular form (Tables 126-128), and are illustrated in corresponding histogram form (Fig. 1 - Fig. 3):

TABLE 126

Discriminant Analysis for Secondaire I (1972)

Status 1974	Predicted "Student"	Predicted "Non-Student"	n:
Students	73.1	26.9	234
Non-Students	17.3	82.7	81

$p < .01$

Overall, the prediction results in Table 126 indicate an accuracy rate of 75.6%, i.e., more than three-quarters of the known cases were correctly classified as either "student" or "non-student". Specifically, the above table shows that 73.1% of those who were students at the time of the second survey (1974), were correctly predicted as such on the basis of their responses to the initial survey-questionnaire (1972), while the remaining 26.9% were incorrectly predicted as likely to be "non-students". Conversely, 82.7% of those who were non-students at the time of the second survey (1974), were correctly predicted as such, while the remaining 17.3% were incorrectly predicted as likely to be "students". These findings are graphically illustrated in Figure 1.

TABLE 127

Discriminant Analysis for Secondaire V (1972)

Status 1973	Predicted "Student"	Predicted "Non-Student"	n:
Students	82.5	17.5	423
Non-Students	18.5	81.5	124

$p < .001$

The prediction results, overall, in Table 127 indicate an accuracy rate of 82.3%, i.e., more than four-fifths of the known cases were correctly classified as either "student" or "non-student". On the basis of their responses to the initial survey-questionnaire (1972), 82.5% of those who were still in school at the time of the second survey (1973) were correctly predicted as "students", while the remaining 17.5% were incorrectly predicted as likely to be "non-students". Conversely, 81.5% of those who were non-students at the time of the second survey (1973), were correctly predicted as such, while the remaining 18.5% were incorrectly predicted as likely to be "students". Figure 2 graphically illustrates the above results.

TABLE 128

Discriminant Analysis for Secondaire V (1973)

Status 1974	Predicted "Student"	Predicted "Non-Student"	n:
Students	85.0	15.0	421
Non-Students	21.3	78.7	136

$p < .001$

Prediction results derived from the Secondaire V (1973) analysis, show an overall accuracy rate of 83.5%. As can be seen in Table 128, 85.0% of those still in school at the time of the third survey (1974), were correctly predicted as "students" on the basis of their interviews at the second time interval (1973), while 15.0% were incorrectly predicted as likely to be "non-students". Conversely, 78.7% of those who were non-students at the time of the third survey (1974), were correctly predicted as such, while the remaining 21.3% were incorrectly predicted as likely to be "students". The above findings are represented in histogram form in Figure 3.

All the prediction results, obtained on the basis of discriminant analysis, thus attest to the adequacy of our discriminating variables and discriminant functions and their classification capability. With this, our study arrives at its final conclusion, to be presented in the next chapter.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Throughout the course of this research we have presented summaries of our initial results at the end of each appropriate segment. In the present chapter we undertake a review of the major findings, as well as other relevant and pertinent items that have emerged.

To reiterate: the purpose of this study was to examine some of the salient social and cultural factors which tend to differentiate those adolescents who continue their studies to the successful completion of school, at the secondary and collegial levels, from those who discontinue or terminate their studies without the successful completion of their formal education. Our aim was to ascertain what major social conditions and environmental factors were involved in withdrawal from or continuation in the scholastic milieu.

Specifically, the sociologically relevant question in this regard is one of what conditions in Quebec society in general, and social processes in particular, can account for considerable numbers of adolescents, from certain sociological categories, not attaining higher levels of education than they are at the present time. We have especially endeavoured to investigate what conditions, social-structural and social-psychological, "cause" students to either continue or discontinue their educational pursuits, i.e., why do some students, more than others, aspire to higher levels of education, and how can this be explained?

Methodologically, we have performed a secondary analysis of data obtained from the responses of over 20,000 Quebec secondary school, C.E.G.E.P., and private collegial students to questionnaires administered by the Centre de Sondage de l'Université de Montréal in collaboration with

Le Projet de Recherche A.S.O.P.E. (Aspirations Scolaires et Orientations Professionnelles des Etudiants). Our statistical tests have included Chi Square crosstabulations, factor analysis, and discriminant analysis.

In order to remain within manageable empirical confines, we limited our research to a consideration of five areas of sociocultural concern. These five areas: aspirations, family, school, peers, and self-perception, constituted our independent variables, and were indeed found to emerge as the most salient factors in this study. By way of conclusion, therefore, we shall review the major findings for each of the areas examined.

Since we have already summarized the major findings on each variable at the end of the corresponding section of our crosstabular (χ^2) analysis, what follows now, by way of final conclusion, is a résumé of the findings pertaining to each of the principal factors.

ASPIRATIONS

Our examination of adolescent aspirations (educational and occupational) has involved three inter-related dimensions: desires (ideal), expectations (actual), and commitment (achievement). We have argued that in order for an individual to have high aspirations, he must not only desire and expect certain goals, but must also make a commitment toward the attainment of those goals. Such commitment, as we have already seen throughout this research, is manifested in the individual's desire to achieve "good" grades in school. As we have earlier noted, aspirations are influenced by parental values and attitudes which are transmitted through the process of socialization, emerge early in life, and develop in the family of orientation. We have also maintained that aspirations are indicative of and correlated with social class. Our own findings on the aspiration variable concur with earlier works on the subject (Hollingshead, 1949;

Kahl, 1953; Bordua, 1960; Forcese, 1975; Tepperman, 1975). The data show a consistent and recurrent pattern at every stage in the analysis: significantly greater proportions of students than non-students desired to achieve and actually expected to attain high levels of formal education (collegial and university), and concomitantly, desired and expected to attain the more prestigious and high status occupations. Likewise, achievement commitment, as manifested in the individual's desire to succeed in school, has been conclusively demonstrated in this study in terms of the respondent's assessment of self as student (subjective evaluation), and in terms of the respondent's actual academic performance (objective evaluation).

As can be readily discerned from the results of our factor analysis (Table 124), educational and occupational aspirations emerge as the most dominant factor among our Secondaire V (1972) respondents at the senior high school level, accounting for a combined total of 53.0% of the total variance. Educational desires, educational expectations, and program of studies were found to be strong indices of the "educational aspirations" factor, while occupational expectations and occupational desires were found to be strong indices of the "occupational aspirations" factor.

Among our Secondaire I (1972) respondents at the junior high school level, aspirations did not emerge as a distinct and separate factor, but rather as strong indices of two related factors: family status, and the school. Not surprisingly, and for rather obvious reasons already discussed, the data in Table 123 indicate high correlations between educational expectations, educational desires, occupational expectations, occupational desires and the "family status" factor. Table 123 also shows high correlations between occupational desires, occupational expectations, educational desires, educational expectations and the "school" (academic) factor.

Our findings thus confirm that aspirations are indeed a function of family social status, and are, in turn, manifested in the adolescent's desire to achieve (academically) at school. We further suggest that for senior high school students, aspirations are more developed and articulated, and therefore the principal factor in terms of their educational orientations and intentions, whereas among the junior high school students, aspirations are much more latent and obscure, and somewhat subsumed under or overlapping with elements of family and the school.

THE FAMILY

Our interest in the family of orientation stems from the proposition that, regardless of other factors involved, the family is of critical importance as a determinant of adolescent educational intentions and plans. Our underlying assumption here is that certain behavioural patterns are established primarily by early experience in the family, including, of course, educational orientations and intentions. The findings in this study are quite consistent with and supportive of earlier research in the area (Hollingshead, 1949; Allen, 1956; Dave, 1963; Cervantes, 1966; Breton, 1972; Forcese, 1975; Tepperman, 1975). Several dimensions of family background, structure, and organization were considered in our analysis and were found to be highly significant variables in distinguishing the student from the non-student. Parental educational level, father's occupational status, father's income, community of orientation (urban-rural), size of family, and parental pressure were found throughout the analysis, at each stage, to be strongly associated with the educational orientations of our adolescent respondents.

Not unexpectedly, therefore, given the importance of the family, our factor analysis results clearly show "family status" as the dominant factor among our Secondaire I (1972) respondents at the junior high school level, and among our Secondaire V (1973) respondents at the collegial level (first-year). At the senior high school level

(Secondaire V), among our 1972 respondents, "family status" emerges as the second principal factor.

As Table 123 and 124 indicate, father's education, mother's education, family size, and community size (urban-rural) were strong measures or indices of the "family status" factor among secondary school respondents, while father's education, father's occupation, and father's income comprised the major elements of the "family status" factor among our collegial-level respondents, as seen in Table 125.

Coupled with our earlier crosstabular (X^2) findings, the factor analysis results further confirm our general hypothesis that the background, structure, and organization of the student's family are in important ways different from those of the non-student.

We conclude, therefore, as does Breton (1972: 387), that "family life is an important component of the situation of an adolescent in giving shape to his future career".

THE SCHOOL

Consideration of the school as an important determinant of educational tenure has focused on the "climate" of the school as a "generating milieu" for student retention or attrition. Our underlying assumption has been that what happens to the child at school, how well he performs academically, the kind of relationships he has, his participation in extra-curricular activities, etc., all have considerable relevance for his educational orientations and intentions. We have also considered the proposition that, just as social class and other social structural characteristics affect the individual's values, beliefs, attitudes, orientations, etc., so too, do organizational experiences -- in this case, the school. Indeed, as Breton (1972: 389) found, and as our own findings substantiate, the school, "as a formal organization and the adolescent's experience in it *do have an effect* on the student's career development, his preferences, and intentions for his career". (sic).

The school context, as defined in this study, consists of two subsystems: the formal (academic/administrative) and the informal (non-academic/social). Success in the former is seen in terms of academic achievement, while in the latter, success is seen in terms of social achievement. For reasons already stated, and which our factor analysis results (Table 123) further indicate, the scholastic milieu can be regarded as an extension of the adolescent's background characteristics in that the "school experience only helps to specify and reinforce general attitudes about oneself and the future which have been learned at home". (Tepperman, 1975: 180).

Several measures of the influence of the school on adolescent orientations were utilized in this study, and were found to be highly significant in differentiating between our two categories of respondents. Program of studies, perception of self as student (subjective evaluation), academic performance (objective evaluation), extra-curricular activities, satisfaction with school, parental reaction to grades and school goals were found in our earlier crosstabular (X^2) analysis to be strongly associated with the educational orientations of our adolescent respondents.

As Tables 123-125 indicate, the above variables of school influence were substantially reduced in the factor analysis to a much smaller number of factor indices. Among our Secondaire I (1972) respondents at the junior high school level, Table 123 shows academic performance (objective), perception of self as student (subjective), and parental reaction to grades as strong indices of the "school" factor. We note again the occurrence here of high factor loadings on the "school" factor of four aspirational indices: occupational desires, occupational expectations, educational desires, and educational expectations. No further elaboration need be made of this occurrence as we have already done so in reference to the "family status" factor.

Academic performance and perception of self as student also emerged as strong indices of the "school" factor among our Secondaire V (1972) senior high school respondents. An additional variable, anticipated difficulties in attainment of desired education, also emerged as a strong index of the "school" factor. (Table 124)

Table 125 shows that among our Secondaire V (1973) collegial-level respondents, the "school" factor is the least dominant one, and is defined in terms of one index, ideal goals for an educational institution: intellectual maturity and development of a sense of judgment. However, in our earlier presentation of the factor analysis results, we noted the close-to-significant correlations (factor loadings) of two "allied" variables on the "school" factor, which were also dimensions of ideal goals for an educational institution: development of a sense of values and behaviour patterns; and the creation of a favourable student environment.

On the basis of our findings, therefore, it would appear that among students at the secondary levels, academic aspects of the school experience are important as determinants of educational orientations, while among students at the post-secondary level, non-academic aspects of the school experience are the determinants.

SELF-PERCEPTION AND LIFE-ORIENTATION

A major assumption in this study has been that an individual's self-image and life-orientation were important variables in explaining his behaviour. Our particular interest here has centred on the effects of self-image and life-orientation on the educational intentions and plans of our adolescent respondents. Breton's (1972) notion of "conceptual self-system" serves as a model for our analysis.

In his discussion of the vocational decision-making process, Breton (1972: 24-29) identifies several factors which may enhance or impede that process. Of direct concern to us is his notion of "conceptual self-system", two components of which, are conception of self and self-in-environment; and attitudinal approaches to self and life. Breton articulates further:

> "The individual's conceptual self-system includes his assessment of his own abilities, interests, and general attitudinal approaches to self (for example, self-esteem) and to life (independence)".
>
> (1972: 25)

Several dimensions of self-perception were tested in this study, and were found to be highly significant in distinguishing between our two categories of respondents. Our results clearly and consistently show self-perception, as manifested in terms of self-satisfaction, self-confidence, self-esteem and personal efficacy, to be strongly associated with the adolescent's intention to continue or terminate his education.

As Tables 124 and 125 reveal, self-perception emerges as the third principal factor among our Secondaire V (1972) senior high sncool respondents, as well as among our Secondaire V (1973) collegial-level (first-year) respondents. Interestingly enough, similar but somewhat different indices of the "self-perception" factor were obtained for the secondary school and post-secondary school respondents. Among the former, Table 124 shows uncertainty about success in life, pessimism vis-à-vis the future, and confidence in self to be strong indices of the "perception-of-self" factor. Among the latter, Table 125 shows a sense of powerlessness and pessimism, and a sense of confusion and unclarity, to be strong indices of the "perception-of-self" factor.

Of further relevance are the adolescent's attitudes and orientations toward life, the dimensions of which, are manifested in the structure of his past and present experiences, as well as in his relationship to the future. Three distinct orientation profiles were discerned in this study: present-oriented (immediate gratification); past-oriented (vicarious gratification); and future-oriented (deferred gratification). Our crosstabular (X^2) results showed that variables such as importance of the present, enjoyment of the present, idealization of the past, valorization of the past, concern about the future, and importance of the future significantly distinguished between our two categories of respondents at every stage in the analysis. The data show that greater proportions of non-students than students tend to be present-oriented, i.e., concerned with immediate gratification through emphasis on and enjoyment of the present; and also to be past-oriented, i.e., concerned with vicarious gratification through idealization of and valorization of the past. As for orientations to the future, significantly greater proportions of students to non-students tend to be future-oriented, i.e., concerned with deferred gratification, and with the organization of their lives in terms of the future.

Orientation-to-life, as a distinct factor, emerges only among our Secondaire I (1972) junior high school respondents. As Table 123 shows, it is the least dominant factor in the configuration, and is defined in terms of concern about the future, enjoyment of the present, and concern about the present.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT FACTORS

Two additional factors were derived from our factor analysis: "occupational concerns", and "peer associations". We shall briefly discuss each.

"Occupational concerns" appears in Table 123 as the second principal factor among our Secondaire I (1972) junior high school respondents. In a sense, we were somewhat surprised by its occurrence as a distinct and relatively strong factor. As we indicated earlier in the multivariate analysis, anxiety over future employment, as well as perceived difficulties in attaining one's desired occupation, are associated with one's educational and occupational aspirations. In the present instance, as illustrated in Table 123, the "occupational concerns" factor is defined in terms of three indices: lack of good grades, not having gone far enough in school, and not knowing influential people who could help. We have earlier referred to these indices as "expectancy" variables in the sense that they assess the extent to which the respondent is anxious or apprehensive vis-à-vis future occupational prospects. For all intents and purposes, then, the indices of "occupational concern" could just as conveniently and arbitrarily have been interpreted as measures of educational or occupational aspirations since, as we have seen throughout this study, an adolescent's educational intentions are part of a configuration of attitudes, self-evaluations, and self in relation to the future. Our hypothesis that the more positive an adolescent's evaluation of the future, the more likely he or she is to desire and anticipate a high level of educational attainment, is thus further substantiated by our factor analysis results.

As Table 125 shows, academic-oriented friendship patterns (friends continue studies) and non-academic patterns (friends terminate studies) combine to construct "peer associations" as the second principal factor among our Secondaire V (1973) collegial-level respondents. As our earlier crosstabular (X^2) analysis has consistently shown, the educational orientation of one's close friends, as "significant others", or as "educational role models", is strongly associated with one's own educational orientations. Considerably greater proportions of students to non-students had as best friends those who were currently pursuing their studies; whereas, among the non-students, the converse was the case. Significantly greater proportions of non-students to students had as best friends those who were currently not in school, i.e., "workers". In similar vein, for the previous academic year (1971-72), considerably greater proportions of non-students to students had as best friends those who had terminated their studies following high school completion; whereas conversely, significantly greater proportions of students to non-students had as best friends those who were continuing their education beyond high school. Our findings tend to confirm the fact that the educational profiles of one's peers (and siblings) do indeed serve as educational reference models for one's own intentions. Our study also substantiates earlier research (Stuart, 1955; Remmers and Radler, 1958) which indicated that "most of the dropouts' close friends were out of school", and that for many adolescents, concerns for friendship and popularity far outweighed academic achievement.

Final Note:

As indicated in the study design and throughout the crosstabular (X^2) analysis, four control variables were utilized in addition to the dichotomous dependent variable and our five major independent variables. Sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, and father's education constituted the control variables in this study. Our findings show that, on the whole, relatively few student/non-student distinctions could be directly attributed to any one particular control variable, and what differentiations did occur on the basis of either sex, ethnic origin, father's occupation, or father's education, were neither systematic nor consistent. Such an outcome, however, was not entirely unexpected given the fact that the original A.S.O.P.E. survey, from which our data were drawn, was not specifically designed for or directed towards the area of research examined in this work. To be sure, a certain amount of improvisation, transposition, and modification had to be made. On the other hand, father's occupation and father's education, when tested as independent variables of family status (rather than solely as controls), consistently and recurringly emerged as highly significant in terms of the student/non-student distinction, and as very strong indices of "family status" in the factor analysis.

As the multivariate techniques clearly reveal, aspirations, family, school, peers, self-perception/life-orientation were not only significant as major independent variables, but even moreso as strong indices of principal factors, and still further as powerful discriminators and predictors of educational orientation.

Suggestions and Recommendations: Further Research

In the light of our findings, we suggest further research is needed in order to ascertain more fully the following:

1) why the educational and occupational orientations of the non-students differ so significantly from those of the students, and what can be done through the home or school to raise the level of such orientations and aspirations.

2) whether the community agencies and social services can be effectively utilized, at the group or individual level, to counsel and assist the family and the adolescent in working to develop mutual understanding and respect, and to enable them to recognize and cope with

personal problems and difficulties which may constitute an impediment to academic progress and success.

3) what positive measures and procedures can be taken by the family, the school, and the community to effectively counteract the problem of educational attrition.

APPENDIX

Table 129

Factor Analysis for Secondaire I (1972)
(Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix)

Variable description	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Educational Aspirations	.59754	.12946	.45579	.23577
Difficult to Attain Education	.11697	.32933	.26364	-.01033
Educational Expectations	.60348	.13535	.41921	.18899
Self-Rating as Student	-.14327	-.33275	-.54418	-.12741
Academic Performance	-.17390	-.32074	-.58058	-.17722
Extracurricular Activities	-.18911	-.06268	-.10512	.03774
Extracurricular Activities	-.28944	-.06365	-.07184	.03868
Satisfaction with School	-.17292	-.08366	-.20352	.02745
Occupational Aspirations	.39160	-.13096	.60585	.07688
Occupational Expectations	.41524	-.09256	.57181	-.01024
Insufficient Education	.15689	.64132	.02227	.16078
Knowing Influential People	.13909	.48205	.04225	.01856
Grades Not Good Enough	.14774	.70128	.04159	-.02376
Unemployment Situation	.12051	.37850	.08339	.05386
As Good as Anyone Else	-.03432	-.18372	-.21010	-.08116
Doubtful of Life's Chances	.28527	.26134	.07466	.27370
Concern about the Present	.06729	.07857	.09963	.54220
Concern about the Future	.11849	.08989	.08679	.60657
Enjoyment of the Present	-.00613	.02082	.07536	.60244
Future Educational Plan	.00040	-.03684	.14515	.08959
Justification of Dropout Decision	.23379	.02792	.37083	.26477
Father's Education	.60679	.13123	.03394	.11684
Mother's Education	.47028	.12717	-.01759	.03581
Family Size	-.45841	-.19183	-.14850	-.15989
Community of Residence	-.50231	-.06432	-.09591	-.06204
Facher's Occupation	.21163	.07828	.04441	.02883
Family Discussions	-.21400	-.04515	-.16409	-.06455
Parental Pressure	.26159	.09001	.34842	.09183
Parental Reaction to Grades	-.04457	.14648	.49091	-.01248

Table 130

Factor Analysis for Secondaire V (1972)
(Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix)

Variable description	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Educational Expectations	-.72981	.39764	.15984	.19279	-.01405
Educational Aspirations	-.85859	.25688	.18535	.08011	-.01817
Program of Studies	.42251	-.29949	.00503	-.07499	.16119
Self-Rating as Student	.21860	-.06951	-.16379	-.61574	-.06370
Academic Performance	.14299	-.12333	-.09675	-.59071	.05278
Extracurricular Activities	.10677	.11293	-.39018	.07858	.03517
Extracurricular Activities	.16393	-.00009	-.34061	.01718	.00157
Mother's Education	.06553	.44322	.16564	-.21578	.13148
Father's Education	.08215	.49434	.06604	-.15749	.11644
Occupational Aspirations	.31264	-.04600	.12120	-.15872	.50774
Occupational Expectations	.24184	-.06507	-.02194	-.13345	.50955
Family Discussions	-.21932	-.09392	-.30120	.25717	.33979
Family Discussions	.11206	-.27567	-.23141	.20922	.35772
Doubtful of Success	.05741	.18121	.56993	.19917	.01692
Pessimistic About Future	.04531	.18976	.52292	.21162	-.10137
Status of best Friends	-.16204	.38557	-.05309	.30212	.04950
Status of Best Friends	-.19040	.31094	-.07780	.24445	-.01246
Future Educational Plans	.01753	.05412	-.13596	-.03565	.07258
Idealization of the Past	-.02948	.00795	.13003	.21703	-.16187
Enjoyment of the Present	-.09827	.04049	.13694	.14580	-.06977
Status of Siblings	-.07130	.34561	-.00783	.02297	-.09341
Status of Siblings	-.04816	.34160	.03439	.02971	-.09472
Lack of Self-Confidence	.08194	.00889	.49319	.04635	.03877
Parental Pressure	-.20134	-.01338	.16320	.12531	-.10676
Justification of Dropout Decision	-.01747	-.10246	.18023	.12106	-.22119
Status of Best Friends	-.12526	.33898	.06683	.15242	.00054
Sex	.22889	-.03675	.00954	.02231	-.47566
Ethnic Origin	-.03144	.40609	-.02411	.37386	.04230
Difficulty Finding Job	-.00975	.13991	.28001	.09321	-.12778
Parental Reaction to Grades	.02926	.03903	.08606	.30981	-.06040
Good as Anyone Else	.04816	.09443	-.27865	-.08794	-.08102
Difficulties in Attaining Education	.33974	.16839	.11755	.40547	-.13826
Father's Occupation	.17764	-.36636	.01299	-.03995	.01442
Community of Residence	.04057	-.49053	.06613	-.16476	.00179
Family Size	[illegible]	-.52347	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 131

Factor Analysis for Secondaire V (1973)
(Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix)

Variable description	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Academic Performance	-.18906	.05066	.02975	-.06004	.24790
Status of Best Friends - this year	.00237	.70712	-.05256	-.07056	.07690
Status of Best Friends - this year	.12223	-.04706	-.02928	.57835	-.07070
Status of Best Friends - last year	.15996	-.12075	.07521	.53262	-.10624
Status of Best Friends - last year	-.02504	.64026	-.08724	-.07700	.00834
School Goal: Career Preparation	.18083	.00938	-.00001	.00712	.29211
School Goal: Student Environment	.07558	-.16218	.34654	.04247	-.33417
School Goal: Sense of Values	.06630	-.08719	-.17853	-.02650	.34054
School Goal:	-.02248	.06578	-.14489	-.01988	.48473
School Goal: Labour Market Needs	.26205	-.09127	.21483	.30255	.18859
School Goal: Authority Positions	.30525	-.17374	.12523	.10391	.14117
Sense of Powerlessness/Pessimism	-.01099	-.01231	.48094	-.04810	-.07479
Sense of Confusion/Uncertainty	.03692	-.06116	.47221	.02087	-.08833
Comparison with Others	.16724	.02181	-.01018	.13365	.00746
Achievement/Success Motivation	.00012	-.04163	.22169	.13278	-.15457
Father's Income	.57022	.07605	-.11065	-.00748	-.04384
Sex	.02703	.00247	-.33003	-.28357	-.25779
Father's Education	.64395	-.09099	.09631	.10381	-.01411
Ethnic Origin	.38586	.09815	.04741	.07908	.10589
Father's Occupation	-.63349	.14818	.01809	-.12278	.08535

DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS FOR COHORTE1 TIME1
(75.6% OF KNOWN CASES CORRECTLY CLASSIFIED)

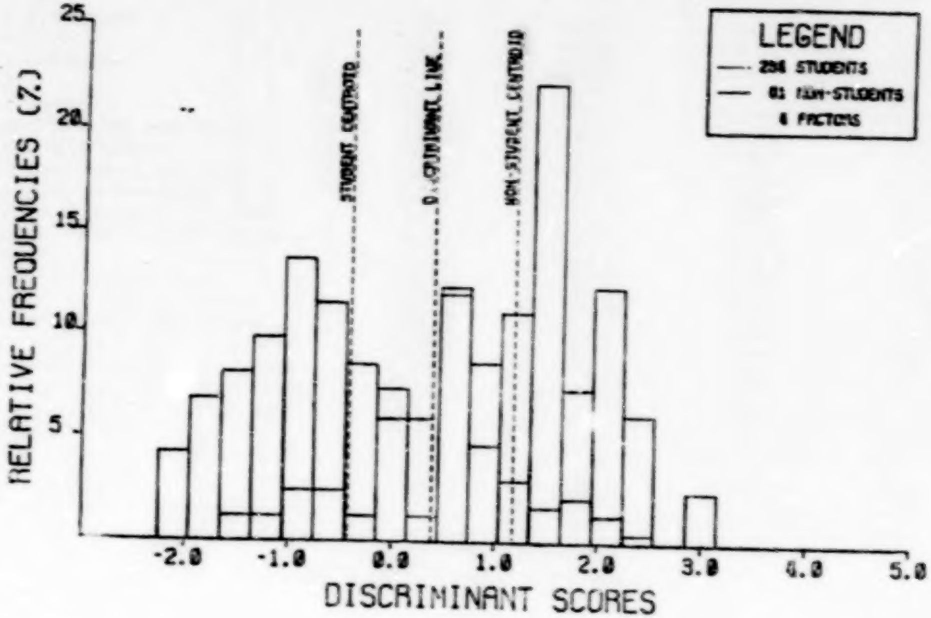

FIG.1

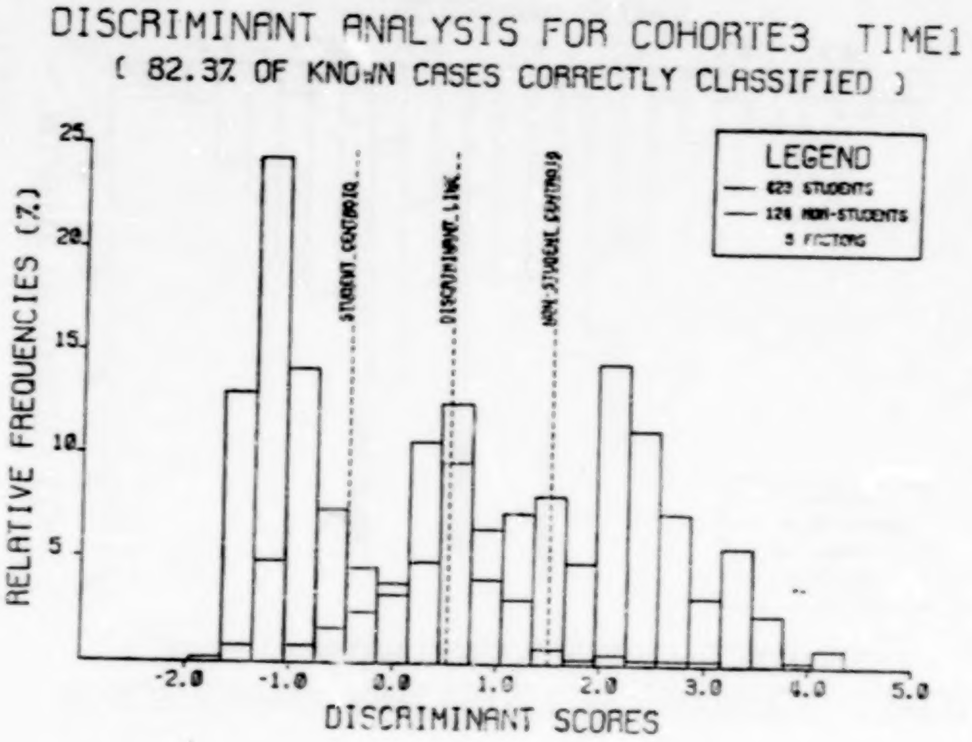
DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS FOR COHORTE3 TIME1
(82.3% OF KNOWN CASES CORRECTLY CLASSIFIED)
LEGEND
622 STUDENTS
128 NON-STUDENTS
5 FACTORS
STUDENT CENTROID
DISCRIMINANT LINE
NON-STUDENT CENTROID
RELATIVE FREQUENCIES (%)
25
20
15
10
5
-2.0
-1.0
0.0
1.0
2.0
3.0
4.0
5.0
DISCRIMINANT SCORES

FIG.2

DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS FOR COHORTE3 TIME2

(83.5% OF KNOWN CASES CORRECTLY CLASSIFIED)

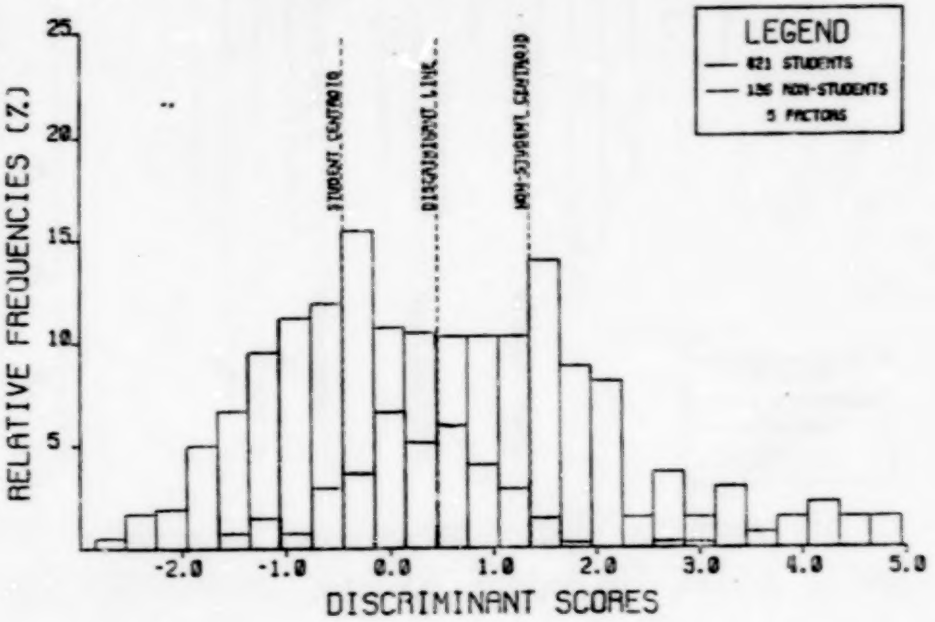

FIG.3

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